

A  
SHAKEUP  
AT CTV

# Maclean's

## THE BATTLE OF OKA

A REPORT FROM INSIDE  
THE WARRIOR LINES

WHAT THE  
MOHAWKS WANT



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# Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE JULY 23, 1996 VOL 103 NO. 30

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## COVER

## THE BATTLE OF OKA

*A down raid by the Sûreté du Québec on a Mohawk Indian barricade in Oka, Que., set off a three-hour battle that left one police officer dead, and 1,000 others occupying the tiny community. The resulting standoff prompted calls for federal intervention and nationwide displays of Indian solidarity, but failed to resolve the original dispute—over a golf course.*

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## CANADA

## ELECTION TALK

*Ontario Premier David Peterson's closest aides are urging him to call a late summer election to cash in on his popularity, and on the opposition's disarray. The plan is in place for a Sept. 13 vote. But Peterson still lacks a good campaign issue—and an excuse to go to the polls two years early.*

—12

## TELEVISION

## SHAKEUP AT CTV

*New CTV president John Connelly is working to reduce tensions within the network and keep the competition at bay. His main goal is to win more viewers, and this fall the network will offer some proven U.S. hits while providing better time slots for much popular Canadian shows as E.S.G.*

—40



## LETTERS

### THE DEATH OF MEECH

If there is one lesson to be learned from the Meech Lake fiasco, it is the significance of process ("Uncommon Histories," Cover, July 22, just as the exercise of justice is a cornerstone in that process, so is the exercise of citizenship to be found in the process by which its constitution evolves. The more a nation aspires to democratic freedom and social justice, the more complex is the task of constitution-building. We must not forget to rejoice in the democratic process, no matter how fraught with risk and peril it may be.

Pat McKeown,  
Toronto

I commend Maclean's for its excellent reporting of the recent First Ministers' conference. Denis Mulvey's chapters, if concerned, two-minute ponderings ignored the needs of both Montreal and Newfoundland. Our native people used the rules of the Manitoba legislature to keep and effectively to deny the attention of the nation to their superimposition in national decision-making. The insincerity of past governments, both Liberal and Conservative, in their needs and aspirations evident, consider sympathy for them and for Elijah Harper's stand against the Meech Lake accord.

Russ Nelson,  
Thunder Bay, Ont.

A once open and tolerant people have increasingly become obsessed by regional chauvinism, bordering on xenophobia, on both sides of the linguistic border. Even a somewhat leftist Conservative with the Meech accord would have been far better than what we have now. Those who saw would be the ideas for the accord's failure at the feet of Brian Mulroney remind me of the members of an incompetent baseball team blaming their loss on the umpire.

Michael Sussman,  
Monterey

We Newfies are finally getting the picture. We are considered full-fledged citizens of Canada. However, when it comes to decisions, we must vote according to the dictates of Quebec, or else contribution will be swift, terrible and long-lasting. Right? Is that David Peterson nodding?

Harold Davis,  
Calgary, Alberta

Many things will be written about the failure of Meech Lake. There was political incompetence at every level, but I am most appalled at the incredible stupidity of Clyde Wells. Why would a premier gamble on the future of Canada in return for absolutely nothing?

Donald Paul Henson,  
Montreal



Mulroney, Peterson: 'regime in process'

On June 23, we witnessed two big Canadian news stories: the Liberal leadership convention ("Today's man," Canada, July 22) and the Meech deadline. The accord was approved by eight provinces representing almost 94 per cent of the Canadian population. But at last, and English Canada is accused of rejecting Quebec. At the federal conference, Jean Charest se-

cured 57 per cent of the votes, and 43 per cent voted against him. So he won. Ninety-four per cent is a victory. Fifty-seven per cent is a loss. Does this make sense to anyone?

Ernie Long,  
Burlington, Ont.

### EUTHANASIA AND SUICIDE

Is what purports to be a story about my involvement in euthanasia, you trust and distrust almost every single thing I have stated ("Nails 'merry killings,'" Canada, July 22). I have never supported suicide. In my work with hundreds of people with AIDS, I consistently counsel people newly diagnosed or at advanced stages to avoid suicide. I have not been speaking out or advocating suicide. Yet your article takes snippets of quotes from me, distorts the context in which they were made and compares my statements about euthanasia to those of others talking about suicide. You have done a grave disservice to this issue by classifying up what I was very clearly speaking about.

Daniel Lewis,  
Monterey

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should keep in mind our deadline: 100 words. Please send letters to: Editor, Maclean's Magazine, 707 King St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

## PASSAGES

**BORN:** To hockey star Wayne Gretzky, 26, and his wife, actress Janet Jones-Gretzky, also 26, their second child, a son, Ty Robert Gretzky. The baby, born at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles, weighed eight pounds, six oz. Both mother and child are reported to be doing well. The child is named for Jones-Gretzky's father, Robert, who died of cancer in 1978. Gretzky, who plays center for the Los Angeles Kings, and Jones also have a daughter, Paulina Mary Jane. She will be 2 on Dec. 19. Married in Edmonton two years ago, the Gretzkys have said that they would like to have four or five children. Added the proud father: "Both Janet and I feel very blessed to have two healthy children."



**DEED:** Militant philanthropist Harry Cohen, 78, after a heart attack in hospital near his Calgary home, Cohen said his five brothers built a business empire that included the Sears and Macys department stores chains and Sony of Canada Ltd., which distributes Sony products in Canada. A leading citizen in the Calgary Jewish community, Cohen was also a supporter of many causes, ranging from arts organizations to the Salvation Army.

**SUPREMACY:** Nova astronaut Cande Robert Gibson, 43, for one year, after taking part in a civilian air-show race, and Capt. David Walker, 46, for 50 days, for several violations of NASA's aircraft operating guidelines. Both astronauts have been reprimanded for the 1300 violations for which they had been training. In NASA's 38 years

of space flight, this is the first time such suspensions have occurred.

**APPOINTED:** By Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Janet Hallock, 44, to the chair of the Science Council of Canada, the nation's advisory agency on science and technology policy. Currently director general of the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council, Hallock is an Ottawa-based chemist known for her advocacy of scientific research in Canadian universities.

**APPOINTED:** As the Toronto Symphony's first composer-in-residence, Montreal native Walter D'Amico, 43. D'Amico has a five-year term beginning in Sept. 3. Besides, among other duties, will write a chamber work and an orchestral work.



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# OPENING NOTES

Global warming has a silver lining, Mila Mulroney makes a hit in Houston, and the CIA gets into the game

## REACHING THE SUMMIT

And all the redoubtable and critical commentary that usually follows politicians and their entourages as they make the global rounds from conference table to conference table, comes a complimentary nod in Canada's *Elle* magazine. During the recent economic summit held in Houston, the United States' First Lady, Barbara Bush, earned the Prime Minister's wife, Mila Mulroney, as "everybody in the world's favorite." Bush, who played hostess to what is known as the "other summit," made up of the leaders' spouses, had kind words for all her guests, but she said that Mulroney impressed everyone, particularly with her fluent French. Said Bush: "I told her I was going to pay her for interpreting." For her part, Mulroney responded to a report of the compliance with modesty and elegance. Said she: "I am pleased with the way things went. She [Bush] is a special friend." At least it seems that someone out there is not worried about having bilingualism shoved down their throats.

Danielle McIverman, Mulroney, Bush: complimentary nod



## Buying power becomes horsepower

For Haldex car dealerships, Swedish-made profits. Robert Bechman, a salesman at MacLellan Lincoln Mercury, says that in one three-day period in July, sales from the Soviet transfer Suzuki Vanadis bought 50 more cars in the area. According to Bechman, the sales are being sold cars for under \$10,000. And they pay cash. Said Bechman: "It has been incredible sales business with these, and for us it is a great way to get rid of older units." William Kerr, manager of Caneco, a Haldex shipping company, confirmed that there has been a recent run on used cars by Soviet sailors. "They buy the trucks to fix up. They buy trucks, large cars, anything they can get a good deal on." Added Kerr, who said that Soviets want up

to 15 years for a new Lada. "I can't imagine what they do for parts when they get home." The Cuban Embassy parking lot?



Bechman: business that is enjoyable and profitable

## A NEW LOOK AT THE TIMES

Ever since the Toronto Globe and Mail purchased the Financial Times last December, there has been speculation that the new owners would turn it into a Sunday edition of the six-day-a-week Globe. Now, managing editor Michael Power says that a redesign is planned for the weekly—one that will make it resemble the new Globe. Publisher Barbara Byland confirmed that a redesigned Times will probably be launched in September. But she declined to go into detail. Said Hyland: "Well, we'd be proud to give all our secrets." Go tell.

## Flag-raising for a distinct society

Adrian Macdonald, wife of Donald Macdonald, Canada's high commissioner to Britain, caused a stir in London when she flew Quebec's fleur-de-lis flag inside the Maple Leaf during a Canada Day reception at the official residence in Grosvenor Square. Observed Kenneth Rose, society columnist for the Sunday Telegraph: "It cannot have pleased anyone general from the other nine provinces." Saskatchewan native Macdonald is unapologetic: "I borrowed the flag from Quebec's representative in London, and he said, 'You're going to get into a lot of trouble.' I told him, 'I don't care.' " A little distinct diplomacy.



Rice; Baker: widely respected, beautiful, young—and a prized asset of the NSC

## A JOURNEY BACK TO SCHOOL?

President George Bush's close friendship with Secretary of State James Baker is being re-examined at the National Security Council. NSC officials say that because Bush consults almost exclusively with Baker on foreign policy issues, the NSC is becoming irrelevant. Now, White House insiders say that Condoleezza Rice, Bush's attractive and widely respected Soviet policy expert at the NSC, is frustrated by her lack of influence. While neither Rice nor NSC officials would comment, reports said that Rice, 35, a for-

mer professor of political science at Stanford University in California, wants to return there at the end of this year. Rice has attracted considerable attention since joining the NSC a year ago. Said a White House aide: "You would look twice at someone, there would be 15 old white guys in grey suits and this one beautiful, young black woman." The aide added: "That no one thinks of her as an ornament. They say she is brilliant. Could leaving wouldn't surprise anyone." The NSC's lion stands to be Stanford's gaur.

## A GAME WITH INTELLIGENCE

With the Cold War on the wane, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is moving into the big leagues—and Bushnell, that is, ex-director William Webster recently invited Robinson Grifone owner Bill Jacobson, the team's manager Frank Robinson and baseball commissioner Friends (Jay) Vincent to the agency's headquarters in Langley, Va., to take part in a panel discussion entitled "The Art, Science and Philosophy of Bushnell." About 300 CIA analysts and agents showed up. Said Webster: "Bushnell is particularly compatible with intelligence. Both demand the long view, a need for teamwork, a demand for individual performance. Both require excellence and precision." And an ability to stand important signs on the run.



## Down East warms up

A mid warning to North Americans about the adverse effects of global warming, some Atlantic Canadians are suggesting a silver lining. According to Peter Stokes, a scientist at Dalhousie University who has just completed a global-warming study for Environment Canada, "There are definitely positive implications for some areas." While acknowledging the threat of higher water levels on coastal regions, Stokes predicted a longer tourist season for the Maritimes and he said that hotter temperatures in coastal North America will drive tourists to more moderate marine climates. Gordon Hemeny, head of the Tourism Industry Association of Nova Scotia, said: "A warming trend would be most welcomed by Nova Scotia. The problem with the Atlantic Ocean is that it is often too cold to swim in." But down over the greenhouse.

F.L.J. heads some positive implications

## Lament for a native

Billed as "the greatest music this side of heaven," Guy Lombardi's big-band sound has hit a discordant note. A



Lombardi: a discordant note

musical honoring Lombardi in his birthplace, London, Ont.—he died in 1977—is losing money and may close. Lamented Tyrone Butler, co-founder of the museum: "I've said before that Liverpool had the Beatles, Boston has the Kennedys, Memphis has Elvis, even St. Thomas, Ont., has Juno the elephant [who died there in 1885]. And we've got Lombardi."



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# BUICK REGAL

*The Buick Touch*

## COLUMN



# A dismal view from across the Atlantic

BY DIANE FRANCIS

Conrad Black's offer concludes the heart of London's docklands area. While he is a citizen of the world with attributes, Black, who now lives in England for several months a year, is still a Canadian citizen and he still has Canada on his mind. The international sales conglomerate, Hollinger Inc., which owns London's venerable Daily Telegraph newspaper, is based in Toronto. Like so many of us, Black, 45, is bothered by Canada's recent constitutional upheaval. Our conversation is not joyous. Although Black has no qualms about formally recognizing Quebec as a distinct society, he opposed the March 20 accord. Without it, however, he feels that Canadians must fundamentally shift their political attitudes in order to avert political disintegration and economic catastrophe.

"The fact is the French-Canadians don't give a damn about Canada, and that is the problem," says Black. "It's a very unfortunate state of affairs, but I think we finally have to come to grips with the fact that the whole idea of making a coherent country out of Canada depends on whether it stands as its own or not. You can't be the affection of the voters. You can't go on managing money around you can't deny completely with respect development grants. In some ways, what is going on is actually welcome, especially if Quebec gets the message that English Canada really does feel betrayed by Bill 178. Not that it legitimizes them the distinct society. My goodness, millions of schoolchildren have been studying French who, frankly, had little prospect of using it, when Quebec suddenly became the province most hostile to bilingualism."

While this Canada's constitutional rupture, according to Black, is an occasion for crisis and a troubling federal debt. "We are circling the drain," he says. "Someone with an elemental knowledge of Grade 3 arithmetic can see that. The deficit burden is not bearable. The whole thing now is not an evolutionary process of trying to cut a shrinking pie into even smaller pieces and trying to give every-

one jurisdiction more money. But we don't have any more jurisdiction or any more money. The federal government is not really trying to negotiate with the country as a Santa Claus, but as a bag of toys as empty. We're not going to have to face the music."

By "facing the music," Black is referring to the possibility that if Ottawa's debt continues to pile up, it may mean that itself would be forced to raise interest rates, to attract enough investors to buy its bonds or the treasury bills that the Bank of Canada auctions off every week. If that happens, Canada, like Brazil and Mexico, could soon be forced to borrow from international lenders at last interest, namely the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. Says Black: "The way things are going, if I come this year or next. The most astonishing thing is the 'newspaper' that goes on. Serious, intelligent people, including Brian Mulroney and Michael Wilson, purport to believe the deficit is declining. Well you know things don't go up and down at the same time."

Ottawa's deficit projection of \$28.5 billion for the 1990-1991 fiscal year is already not only offside due to borrowing rates, which are three percentage points higher than Wilson forecast in his February budget, as well as an

economic slowdown which has reduced tax revenues. Some private-sector economists estimate that the deficit will swell to \$35 billion this year alone. Wilson makes some serious spending cuts. Meanwhile, Canadians are getting deeper in debt to the tune of \$36 million a day, roughly equivalent to the daily economic output of all four Atlantic provinces. Says Black: "We can't go on like this."

While Ottawa has never defaulted on any loans, it now must offer up to five percentage points more in interest on its bonds than Washington does in order to attract investors. Black says that there was real panic over the winter as international buyers for Canada's bonds initially panicked because of worries about the deficit and Meech Lake. Canadians are unaware of this frightening fragility and the fact that the world perceives our currency, and economy, as high-risk. In essence, Canada's huge \$355-billion national debt is a mortgage, and because we continue to borrow more and more, we have forced to pay high second-mortgage interest rates.

Black blames politicians for both the economic and constitutional crises and suggests that a referendum or a series of them may be the only way to decide, once and for all, if Canadians really want the country to work. "It frankly would prefer any reasonable alternative to what we have had in the past few years," he says. Black's first choice is a united and bilingual Canada. But, failing that, he says, "I would prefer the independence of Quebec and more that one other related country as the rest of Canada—or the independence of Quebec and the rest of the country in whole or in part joining the United States—to a continuance of this excruciating hanky we've had of Quebec, as effect, pretending to be part of Canada." While Black remains steadfast and unyielding, he adds that it "only allows the flag of Canada to be flown in four places throughout the province." He adds: "It also has poor status with Canada among the international French community. I find it embarrassing. In the end, Canadians are going to have to decide whether they want a coherent country or not. I do. And I think most Canadians do, including probably most French-Canadians."

If English- and French-Canadians really do want to shape a country, Black believes that the constitutional framework can be revamped and economic problems addressed. "The basic fact is Canadian, regardless of what language they speak, are a comparatively talented people, in a very rich territory," he says. "The fundamental aspect is exceptional and remarkable compared with all of the least countries of the world. We'll succeed if we can redesign our political institutions so that Canadians do not live from year to year under the threat of the country cracking up. Canadians cannot continue to live for decades under the present system. We have a country where we don't know the whole population having a loyalty and identification with it as an entity thus use to use. If we cannot reshape our political institutions, then no amount of phoning-over, backing and filling is going to dispense the very much longer the fact the country is artificial. And it may indeed be suicidal."





Peterston (left) at a charity event with Toronto Blue Jays players. Roe (opposite) the favored date in Sept. 23

## CANADA

# ELECTION TALK

**T**he indications that Ontario's governing Liberals would soon jettison the province's voters into their third election in less than five years came almost daily last week. One of the strongest was Wednesday, July 11, when Liberal party workers selected office space in downtown Toronto that could serve as a campaign headquarters. The next day, at a heavily contested Liberal nomination meeting in the suburban Toronto riding of Scarborough West, winning candidate Joe Poonos moved among the 900 party members, asking for campaign volunteers. "There's going to be an election in September," he told supporters. "We need your help starting tomorrow." And on Friday morning, most of the other 80 nominated candidates assembled at a Toronto hotel to begin a two-day course in campaigning that the party had organized. Said Patrick Gossage, a longtime adviser to Liberal party leader

## TEMPTED TO CALL A QUICK ELECTION, ONTARIO'S DAVID PETERSTON LACKS AN OBVIOUS CAMPAIGN ISSUE

Liberal and provincial leaders. "We're on as much of an election footing as we can be without actually being in one."

With Premier David Peterson's closest aides urging him to call an election for early September, those signs seemed to point to a late

summer campaign. The most popular election date among political hard-core Sept. 13, which would require an election call by no later than Aug. 6. But lacking an obvious campaign issue, Peterson hasn't chosen a release date. As the favored, 46-year-old premier laid out for a holiday at the end of the week, one top aide said that he was "speaking" over several matters. Aside from trying to determine the Liberal's program for seeking a second majority mandate, there was a question of whether there should be an election soon at all. With more than two years left in the party's present five-year term, declared the senior Peterson aide, "there are a lot of people who are going to say, 'Why do you have to go now?'"

In fact, as election speculation swirled about the Queen's Park legislative building last week, new Opposition Leader Bob Rae and Conservative Leader Michael Harris both expressed that opinion publicly. For Harris, who

assured the leadership his debt-ridden party just two months ago, and that it would be "preemptive" on Peterson's part to call an early election, which he conceded, would be a severe test for the Tories (page 34). Indeed, the Liberals already enjoy a comfortable majority of 83 seats in the 136-seat provincial legislature, compared with the New Democrats' 19 seats, the Tories' 13, and one vacancy.

And if the party's own polls are any indicator, Ontario's above-board premier appears so far to have survived a series of controversies. According to private surveys that Liberal pollster Martin Goldfarb conducted last month, the party has the support of 50 per cent of fiscal conservatives, compared with 38 per cent for the second 30 per cent for the Conservatives. Still, the government must contend with the latest from 51 charges over alleged land-raising abuses that have been laid against former Liberal-opponent Peterson. The Liberal party itself and campaign workers.

However, as one expected to make a final decision on the election's timing, what he returns from his vacation on the shores of Lake Huron at the end of July. His advisers have already suggested three alternative campaign dates for possible election on Sept. 13, at the end of October, or next spring.

Still, the premier's aides quietly faded the message that Peterson does not wish voting held next year to call an election. One reason is economic uncertainty, with some analysts predicting that the federal government's unpopular Goods and Services Tax, scheduled to take effect on Jan. 1, could hit the country into a recession. But more importantly, says those close to the premier, Peterson fears that by mid-1991 the country will be engulfed in a congressional and provincial debate over national unity. Such a spectacle could spark an anti-Quebec backlash in Ontario—a poor climate for electorship.

In the words of one adviser: "We don't want to be peering up for an election in Ontario while the remainder of Canada is being negotiated between Quebec, Ottawa and the other provinces. It would be a supercharged atmosphere when all the myths come out of the woodwork."

The premier is also under pressure from top Liberals who want to capitalize on the party's current popularity. Said one senior campaign official: "When you have a hot product, you want to get out on the market." Other Liberals are encouraging Peterson to take advantage of the economy among the once-powerful provincial Tories and unions on the part of the late Premier's Liberal organizer Seymour Brown. "The way that have is that we have no opposition right now."

Clearly, the Liberals enjoy substantial advan-

tages over their rivals in almost every category. In addition to their buoyant standing in the polls, the Liberals are flush with cash. The party raised almost \$5 million during 1989 alone, according to reports filed with the provincial election commission. By contrast, the NDP collected only \$2.1 million, and the Tories, while raising \$3.4 million, are hampered by the costs of carrying a \$6-million debt. "We have no cash left for a campaign," said Harris. "It puts us in a very difficult position."

Whether campaign timetable Peterson chooses, he should be well prepared for the election. For the past month, senior advisers have been working 12-hour days and weekends to complete a party policy review and campaign platform for the premier to dig out on his birthday. Peterson was to spend the next two weeks with his wife, Shelley, and their three children at a resort cottage in the Lake Huron resort town of Grand Bend, Ont., 80 km northwest of his home town of London, studying the issues and calling political consultants for advice. Said one campaign official: "He will be on the beach, spend some time with his family, and give the campaign organization a week's notice if he decides to go."

Liberal opponents, stung by criticism that their scheduled 1991 campaign lacked a focus, insist that their next campaign will be based on clear policy proposals. Despite their commitment, senior party strategists had still not agreed last week on which issues should dominate the campaign. Some influential proponent members, including Attorney General Ian Scott, say one—when pressing Peterson to address the question of national unity. One proposal under discussion: that Peterson call a provincial inquiry to review Ontario's 1987 constitution, in the wake of the Meech Lake accord's failure and Quebec's quest for more powers.

But other strategists, including campaign policy chairman and Toronto consultant David McNaughton, were arguing that the election be "Meech-out" by their own central debate, instead they were encouraging Peterson to run on a wide-ranging industrial strategy designed to help Ontario adjust to free trade and maintain its prosperity into the next century. Said one constitutional adviser to the premier: "The political advisers are telling Peterson, 'Don't go around saying how important Quebec is to Ontario and how closely you want to work with Bonanza in the middle of a campaign.'"

No matter how Peterson balances those opposing recommendations, other issues threaten to intrude on the Liberals' agenda. Among them: the ongoing controversy surrounding Liberal loan raised Premier Stuart,

## National Notes

### A RUN FOR SOVEREIGNTY

Premier Jean Charest of Quebec said that his group of independent Quebecers will endorse some of the 100 Quebecers to contest a federal by-election in Montreal next month. But Charest and Doug Young, "will donate himself exclusively to the fight, of a sovereign Quebec" if he can win the by-election scheduled for the next end of the month. More on Aug. 13, Liberal Conservatives and some candidates had already entered the race.

### A MANDATE AFTER MEECH

Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa and Opposition leader Jacques Parizeau agreed in principle on the mandate for a provincial referendum that will measure Quebec's constitutional status as the whole of the province of the Meech Lake accord. But the two sides did not agree on who should lead the consultation, which will begin work in September. The task will be to make recommendations by March on Quebec's future relationship with the rest of Canada.

### NO MORE CUCKERS

A multimillion-dollar, three-year-old, ex-proposed to great confusion in a Toronto, spa-like-shed greenhouse near St. John's, Nfld., has ended with the owners deciding to close the money-losing enterprise rather than move it. Newfoundland's former Conservative government, around \$2.5 million into the project before the Liberals, elected in April, 1989, forced its sale to St. John's-based Coast Products Inc. for \$1 in June, 1989.

### A WESTERN AGENDA

The federal ministers of the four western provinces urged their governments to take a united stand against Ottawa in demanding "fundamental" reforms to the way that the federal government funds provincial programs. It was said that the western provinces should not adopt Quebec's declared intention of negotiating co-operation with Ottawa in the aftermath of Meech Lake.

### MEDICARE MOVE

The R.C. government made a new money offer, valued at \$21 million, in the long-standing dispute with the province's doctors, who have been without a contract for 13 months. The offer to the B.C. Medical Association would increase physicians' pay by \$7,500 a year for the first year, \$5,250 in the second and \$3,000 in the third. But the association also said it wants to ensure universal non-emergency medical services with the government this week.



# THE BATTLE OF OKA

ONE OFFICER DIED  
AS QUEBEC POLICE  
CONFRONTED WELL-  
ARMED MOHAWK  
WARRIORS

**I**t started with a dispute over a golf course that it erupted into a gun battle that left one Quebec provincial police officer dead and had bare decades of bitterness and distrust. For four months, Mohawk Indians living near Oka, Que., 30 km west of Montreal, had blocked a local road in protest against the town's plans to expand a nine-hole golf course onto land that the Indians claim is theirs. In the early hours of July 11, officers of the Sûreté du Québec Oka, the provincial police force, gave the Mohawks three hours to dismantle their road-block and withdraw. When the deadline passed, a heavily armed tactical team of about 190 policemen stormed up a short hill to an attempt to force the Mohawks back. It proved to be a tragic miscalculation. Instead of retreating—as the police clearly expected them to do—the equally well-armed Mohawks fought back with accuracy. Twice, they forced the police to break off their attack. And when the tactical team finally gave up its assault after three hours, Cpl. Marcel Lesny, 31, had died of a gunshot wound.

**Death.** The armed standoff that ensued was still in place as the work ended, with both sides mounting their makeshift barricades 350 m apart along Quebec Highway 344 on the north shore of the Ottawa River. Inside their lines, the Mohawks—inspired by portable two-way radios—had laid barbed wire and were quick to remove any intruders (page 39). For their part, the Mohawks were insisting that they were not to be held responsible for Lesny's death—and that the town of Oka must resolve its plan to add another nine holes to its golf course in a picturesque sweep of wooded land



Mohawks guarding a barricade dug in



The police line 350 m away: a bungled attempt to clear the way for a golf course expansion

near an Indian burial ground. After three days of negotiation, Quebec Minister of Native Affairs John Garcia said that he had sympathy for the Mohawks' claim to the land, but he refused to give any assurance that so Indians would have protection for the officer's death.

Meanwhile, federal Indian Affairs Minister Thomas Sadooni—meeting his S.C. riding last week—received requests from the Mohawks that he step in that late on Saturday, Clinton said that he had received federal proposals that might help resolve the dispute. In Calgary, Deputy Prime Minister Donald Macdonald said that the federal government would establish a task force to study the Oka dispute if both sides removed their barricades and laid down their arms. But as the days wore on, Oka's population of 1,800 increasingly resembled a town under occupation, as provincial police officers freely frisked passersby and turned back delivery trucks and cars carrying journalists or other nonresidents.

**Isolation.** Across the country, native communities found a variety of ways to express support for the Kanesatake Mohawks at Oka. In a disaster assistance meeting, Mohawks from the Kanesatake reserve south of Montreal erected their own blockade across the Meuse Bridge—a vital connecting link between the city and south-shore communities—that passes over land belonging to the reserve. By Friday, the third day of that blockade, police had to move in to break up fights as angry local residents rallied about the edges of the reserve. One clash between a group of angry non-residents

and people they took for Indians left two men badly beaten, and in another incident a white truck chased a teenage Mohawk girl through a shopping mall until police intervened. "If we had caught her, she would have had a good beating," said Christian Larose, one of the youths who chased the girl.

**Warlike.** The police attack put at odds two sides in already tense relations between the Quebec government and that province's native residents. For his part, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa endorsed the 30 operation as a routine act of law enforcement. But he staunchly refused to force the removal of the Oka police presence of approving the

and as an act of retribution against nations for their role in the defeat of the March 1965 treaty. In one such case, Claude Mercier, vice-chief of the Assembly of First Nations, said that Quebec had indeed become the "detestable society" it aspired to be under the terms of the 1965 accord. "It is detestable in its use of force against aboriginal people," he said.

It was clear that the confrontation at Oka reflected a growing militancy among young Indians in many parts of Canada. One armed Mohawk who wanted the Oka barricades told Macdonald that policemen have permanently angered the Indians whom they attacked, their claims "ridiculous" in the past. "But when we have 40-45," added Herby Nicholls, "you see, they claim it is the only way." That philosophy has gained ground, particularly among Canada's 26,885 Mohawks, finding fertile roots in that Indian nation's reemergent Longhouse religion and warrior history (page 38). But, as activists in other native campaigns to gain control of territory frustrated and their claims to constitutional standing dropped from the list of national political priorities, there were predictions that the mood of violence gripping the normally serene and picturesque lives of native peoples was spread to those of other disputes (page 32).

At Oka, Mohawks claim to a 260-square-mile tract of land on which the disputed golf course sits have their roots in the early 18th century. A group of Mohawks originally from what is now upper New York state, following a trail of displaced French colonial looting with the help of arms supplied by the British, chose the region of wooded hills overlooking the Ottawa River as the site of a new settlement. But there was never a treaty to clearly confirm their title to the land.

**Exclusion.** In 1961, Oka's town council disregarded the Mohawks' claim when it authorized construction of a nine-hole golf course on part of the disputed land. But, apart from occasional acts of vandalism against the golf course, none of the town's Mohawks, gradually accepted its presence until recently. That tolerance abruptly evaporated in early March, when the council, led by Mayor Jean Gauthier,

Garcia left, Gauthier: federal politicians stayed away



# UNDER SIEGE

## SLIPPING BEHIND THE WARRIOR LINES

As police sealed off the area surrounding the Oka, Que., standoff last week, Maclean's Montreal correspondent Ann McLaughlin found her way around the police lines to spend three days behind the Kanawake Indian barricade. McLaughlin studied the police tactics by crossing private beaches along the Ottawa River there and, avoiding police spy and snout sniffs, she scrambled up a cliff in the Mohawk positions. Her report.

I quickly became clear that the Mohawks were well prepared for the kind of standoff that took place last week. Perhaps 40 members of the militant Warrior Society from the nearby Kahnawake reserve and from the Alouette reserve near Cornwall, Ont.—so old they say practically how many—had been with the Kanawake group for about four months. About a dozen "honor boys," as they call themselves, had joined the Warriors, following their orders and taking training from them. All of them were on strict training and sleeping schedules. The Warriors were calling the shots along the barricade, and their presence was clear throughout the woods on the disputed territory. I saw well-established bastions and barbed wire strung across the forest in strategic patterns. I was also told that the Warrior group included as many as 100.

**Caution:** A handful of Warriors manned the barricade in shifts all day, every day. They seemed relaxed on their value-talking from risk and female accents, talking in Mohawk, deep within the woods. After one crackling exchange on the radio on Thursday, the Mohawks' spokeswoman, Ellen Gabeau, told reporters that a bundle of provincial police officers had been unsuccessful in penetrating one of the three Indian barriers closing off the territory. Then, she said, four cars carrying fire officers drove down to another barricade on a back road a couple of hours later, rolled in front of a quickly set "T" they are not trying to make us nervous in this area," Gabeau said. "They are playing kids' games."

I met one Warrior dressed in camouflage gear at the back woods and then on Wednesday the Mohawks spotted three Sûreté du Québec (SQ) provincial police sharpshooters in the trees. Two of them ran away, but one was caught in

applied to helpers to avoid confrontations. "If the police do not allow you to cross the barriers, carefully place the food on the ground and then retreat and leave," the statement said. "This is to be done in a peaceful manner. We do not want any more violence."

Some residents talked about their problems getting back from town. Lisa Turda, a non-native who lives just inside the Mohawk barriers, said that an officer stopped her as she was walking up the hill back to her home on



Laying barbed wire at Kanawake; around Mohawk (below) Vietnam veterans

a tree. "We told him to throw down his arms and come down or we would cut the tree down," he said. "So the 10 officers put down his arms. He was brought to the edge of the reserve and let go."

After two days, the police blockade was clearly making things difficult. Anyone who went into town for supplies was told on the way back that they could not take any groceries at home, so the goods that the food could get to the Indians on the barricade. At 4:30 p.m. Thursday afternoon, the band council announced, signed by Grand Chief George Matis, asking the public to bring food to the reserve. That is

Friday afternoon. They gave her a thorough search, including looking inside her shoes and having her take her hair out of her hair. "I told them, 'You are a bunch of savages,'" Turda said. "They answered, 'No, the savages are up there.' But I answered, 'No, they are Indians, you are savages.'"

**Tensions:** Meanwhile, the Warriors and home boys kept just as close an eye on movements around their barricaded area. Only native Indians or people with special permission travelling with an Indian got security clearance to move in the woods. With their elaborate communications system of walkie-talkies, they seemed to know whenever a local resident, journalist or photographer was wandering in the woods. An armed Warrior would emerge out of nowhere and warn the intruder back.

There was clearly some tension between the groups. At one point, one of the home boys at a barricade raised his eyes towards a Warrior who was walking and singing nearby. The local man granted them his honor. "Oh, there is someone from Alouette!" But after any accident about the barriers, it was a warning that the Indians displayed in public. The Warriors would consult with the band women at a meeting place in the woods, then Gabeau would make a statement, reflecting, she said, their unanimous agreement. □



Captured police cars became part of the Mohawk barricade: Jubbilation

part, promptly—and massively—reinforced their presence in Oka, calling in about 900 additional officers who moved quickly to seal off the entire area. It was a tactic that soon brought the force into fresh confrontations with local townspeople and with dozens of journalists. By Thursday, police mowing the numerous checkpoints that dotted every road leading towards Oka were turning back most cars trying to enter the town, even generating some residents from bringing home groceries because of their suspicions that the food might reach the Mohawks on the barricade. Several journalists, meanwhile, complained that police had seized and sometimes destroyed both equipment and film. Observed one resident: "Oka has become a police state."

**Clash:** Meanwhile, it remained unclear which side had fired the bullet that killed Lemay. Despite no autopsy, forensic specialists were unable to say with certainty whether the single fatal shot to the officer's torso had come from a Mohawk weapon or—as some of the Indians insisted—from his own gun.

As the opposing lines of armed and armed Mohawks on the one side, and full-police-looked Quebec police officers on the other, continued to glare at each other, it was clear that a resolution of the standoff would be difficult. Even more difficult to digest, however, was the suspicion that animosity between Canada's long-disfranchised First Nations and non-native society had reached a new, and ominous, turning point.

GREG W. TAYLOR with ANN MCLAUGHLIN and BRUCE WALLACE in Oka



## FISTFIGHTS, RACIAL TAUNTS ERUPT AT A MOHAWK BRIDGE BLOCKADE

an avid golfer, voted to allow a developer to add some more holes to the golf course and to build a subdivision nearby to increase the community's tax revenues. Despite the developer's plan to leave three acres surrounding the adjoining Mohawk burial ground intact, the outraged outraged many of the natives.

On March 31, a group of Mohawks erected a barricade across the main road leading to the golf course. Oka's municipal council responded by obtaining an injunction from the Superior Court of Quebec that ordered the Indians to remove their blockade by June 30. Ignoring the court order, the Mohawks determined that the problem be resolved in direct discussions with the federal government—"action-to-action"—to the words of band spokesman Ellen Gabeau, a 38-year-old artist.

**Tear gas:** Meanwhile, word of the self-styled Mohawk Warriors joined the Oka Mohawks to start the blockade—most arriving in small groups from the tribe's reserves at Kahnawake and Alouette. The well-armed Warriors began preparing defensive positions around the hilltop roadblock. But despite these preparations, the standoff remained peaceful.

It suddenly turned violent when the provincial police, at Quebec's request, moved in at 9:30 a.m. on July 11 to enforce the Superior Court's injunction. In two separate assaults on the Mohawk position, supported by tear gas grenades and a heavy front-end loader with which they attempted to demolish the Indians'

roadblock, the police failed to reach the armed defenders. Indeed, the police assault team had to abandon several of its vehicles—including the loader—when heavy automatic weapons fire and a wood burning back pack that gas flamed the officers to fall back to a position about 200 m downhill from the natives' barrier.



Mohawks scanning the news; police turned journalists away

The Mohawks quickly turned the situation to their own advantage: several of them commandeered the heavy loader and used it to overturn police vehicles and add them to their roadblock barricade. Clearly, police, one member and defiant Warrior climbed atop the mass of twisted cars and waved a rifle at the stunned police. But it was an assault call that settled over Oka as the gunshots and tear gas disoriented Mayor Ouellette, for one, went into hiding, saying through his lawyer that the action was in response to death threats. The police, for their



COVER

# A LEGACY OF DEFIANCE

THE MOHAWKS REVIVE A MARTIAL PAST

When it's not for the modern arena and the winking television cameras, the scene might have sprung from the earliest decades of the European conquest of the North American continent. In the core silence of the white pine forest, Mohawk fighters dressed for battle melted into the undergrowth—emerging with a warning to challenge an upstart intruder into the Indian encampment. With inside their protective circles, tense negotiations between the Mohawk leadership and representatives of the narrowing white forces went on under the watchful eyes of a handful of manly older warriors—Cousin Mothers who, in the tradition of the Mohawk Longhouse, would be consulted on any settlement. But among Mohawks of either gender, the now-wild demonstration was palpable. Dedicated one 45-year-old Mohawk, Ronald Bessie: "It is our land. We are willing to be here for our children, for our future."

It was a defiance well-rooted in Mohawk history, both ancient and modern. In making their stand at Oka last week, an armed force of an estimated 40 self-styled Mohawk Warriors reflected a partly mythical and brazenly martial tradition, which once made the Mohawks the scourge of New France. Later, the Mohawks were among the most stubborn opponents of federal attempts to weaken traditional Indian authority. And in the past two decades, they have been in the forefront of an increasingly militant anti-racism movement. Indeed, in the wake of last week's battle at Oka, Assembly of First Nations national chief Georges Erasmus warned that the well-armed and combative Mohawks could quickly become role models for other disaffected native groups. Said Erasmus: "You are going to see more of these incidents. There are more and more people saying nothing else works."

**Warning:** Ironically, the Mohawk Warriors—who find morals on many of the tribe's seven settlements and reserves in Ontario, Quebec and New York state—have

Mohawk Warrior: Kenesatake Indians of Oka paralytic role models

their peremptory methods in part on a centuries-old tribal doctrine of peace. According to tradition, a prophet named The Peacemaker appeared at a time when the Mohawk and four other Iroquois groups were locked in inter-tribal warfare. The prophet cast all the tribes' weapons into a cavern beneath a pine tree and counseled them to live according to the Great Law of Peace, an ethical code that hereditary tribal chiefs later handed down and administered. The trace between the warrior tribes led eventually to the emergence of the powerful Iroquois Confederacy.

**Revenge:** But the Great Law of Peace allowed for violence in defense of Iroquois interests. According to Maurice Bessie, a traditionalist, chairman of the native village department at Trent University in Peterborough, Ont., and himself a Mohawk, the Great Law established "very strong bonds of peace with anyone deemed to be on our side." But, she added, the law also declared that "anyone who threatens our families—whether by entrance in the larger family of the nation—in the game."

That strict code laid further expression in a doctrine of revenge. "In Mohawk belief," noted University of Toronto historian William Starna. "If you spill my blood, I have got to spill yours. Their dead in the spirit world could not rest in peace unless they were avenged."

And history soon proved that Mohawk displacement was a formidable threat. As allies of the British during the fur trade wars of the 17th and 18th centuries, Mohawks based in what is now upstate New York joined frequently

in raids against New France. It was during those decades of war over furs that members of the Oka Mohawks settled for the first time on the banks of the Ottawa River, a city's pride went to Montreal. Other outposts eventually extended the influence of the Mohawks and their Iroquois allies from the Hudson River almost to the Mississippi. Indeed, by 1690, according to Bessie, the Iroquois Confederacy was "the most powerful military force in North America." Added Kenes: "The French feared the Mohawks far more than they did the English."

But Mohawk defiance was brief. When the Mohawks, along with most other Iroquois tribes, sided with the British against the American Revolution, George Washington's troops responded by laying waste to their villages and farms. And when loyalist troops withdrew from the newly independent American states, many Mohawks accepted a British offer of land, settling at what are now known as the Six Nations Reserve near Bradford, Ont., and on the Bay of Quinte, west of Kingston, Ont.

**Dispute:** But the Mohawks have since accumulated a lengthy list of grievances against the country that they helped to found. For one thing, they accuse the federal government—starting with the Indian Act of 1876—of trying to impose elected local councils in place of hereditary chiefs. And after the Second World War, Mohawks fought development of the St. Lawrence Seaway, claiming that an infrastructure caused the flooding of Indian land and the curtailment of traditional fishing.

Throughout those disputes, the Mohawks' military has set them apart from most other native Canadians. In 1893, 200 Mohawks in the Akwesasne reserve that straddles the borders of Ontario, Quebec and New York state near Cornwall, Ont., drove off a force of police that the federal government had sent to the reserve in an attempt to force the band to hold elections. Almost 70 years later, in December, 1968, Mohawks from the same reserve drew international attention when police arrested 45 of them while they were blocking the Seneca International Bridge at Cornwall, to protest Canada's decision to charge a duty on goods imported by Indians.

At the same time, many Mohawks have volunteered the service during the two World Wars, the Korean conflict and in Vietnam. In each case, noted Bessie, it was a University of Ottawa law professor who specializes in aboriginal affairs, must showed a marked preference for active combat, opting in Vietnam for the marines at the Green Berets. Quipped Morse: "They don't sign up to be radio technicians."

But modern Mohawk military took on a new dimension in June, 1984. In that month,

armed residents of the Kahnawake reserve south of Montreal—calling themselves members of the Mohawk Warriors Society—cut off access to the Bleasde Bridge, which links the island city with the north shore of the St. Lawrence River. The action was a protest against a raid by 200 army officers who searched stores on the reserve where they suspected Indians of selling cigarettes illegally. The action was repeated last summer at Akwesasne, when about 30 armed Warriors blocked a highway to prevent New York state police from investigating a half-dozen crimes that

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Mohawk in commoditized golf cart: "willing to die"

have opened a defiance of state law on the U.S. side of that reserve since 1984. Last week the Warriors again demonstrated their ability—and willingness—to mount a daunting display of force. The self-declared deniers of Mohawk sovereignty had been threatening Oka to disavow civilians since the first hurricane went up at the town last month ago. They ranged in age from 14 to their 60s, although most appeared to be in their 20s and 30s. Some older members had served in the U.S. armed services, returning with expertise in assault weapons and defensive deployment. Some of the Mohawks took on the camouflage trenches that dotted the forest and

around the Mohawk position at Oka, as well as in the strands of barbed wire that deterred intruders and the elaborate mine camouflage—used to deter exclusively in Mohawk—into which the leaders kept in contact with outsiders.

In their own eyes, the Warriors are true heirs to the legacy of the Iroquois Confederacy's alliance with the British against the passionate claim only to seek peaceful solutions to their disputes. One, John Bessie, a Warrior spokesman on the U.S. side of the Akwesasne reserve, blamed the group to a "volunteer fire department" that serves only when it is needed.

But other Mohawks dispute the view that Warriors are upholding the best traditions of their people. Mohawk academic Cardinal, for one, says that "many Mohawk leaders say that Warriors who resort to violence are not upholding the Great Law of Peace that asked these people who shoot in battle down and carry assault rifles are a few rats themselves." And it was clear to most observers at Oka last week that the alliance between the Warriors and other Mohawk leaders was sometimes uneasy.

**Headline:** Indeed, tensions between the Warriors and other Mohawks have been evident in other Indian communities as well. At Akwesasne, leaders have accused the Warriors of leading their considerable armaments through profits from gambling and cigarette smuggling. And at Kahnawake last week, some residents complained that Warriors had trapped local stores of fish before allowing a mobbed on the Market Bridge, an action that effectively prevented many consumers from going to work in Montreal. "The Warriors did not consult the community about this and they left the reserve without explanation," said one angry Kahnawake Mohawk who asked not to be named. "They were thinking only about themselves."

Still, other observers said that the Mohawk military hold enormous appeal for a generation of young, disillusioned and mostly unemployed natives who feel that they have nothing to lose. Morse, for one, observed that the Mohawk military hold enormous appeal for a generation of young, disillusioned and mostly unemployed natives who feel that they have nothing to lose. Morse, for one, observed that the Mohawk military hold enormous appeal for a generation of young, disillusioned and mostly unemployed natives who feel that they have nothing to lose. Morse, for one, observed that the Mohawk military hold enormous appeal for a generation of young, disillusioned and mostly unemployed natives who feel that they have nothing to lose.

BRIAN BERGMAN with ANN McCAUGHLIN and GUY WILSON in Oka



Armed Mohawk at Oka: aboriginal resentment is resounding across the country

## LOOKING FOR LOST DIGNITY

### OKA'S MOHAWKS ARE NOT ALONE

For many Canadians, the armed standoff at Oka, Que., provided scenes of tragedy and violence more characteristic of Central America, Israel or South Africa. But for Canada's native people it was, at any rate, respect, just as more battle as a continuing campaign to reclaim a measure of dignity as a continent that they once ruled. Indeed, similarly defiant gestures resound across the country, as natives in several other communities demonstrated their support for the Oka Mohawks' blockade.

To a cove in British Columbia's Queen Charlotte Islands, sympathizers in salmon trawlers and pleasure boats joined a flotilla of raucous, graffiti-bedecked boats in a protest against heavy fishing by sports fishermen. Supporters on shore fanned buoys to prevent a helicopter from landing to deliver more anglers to a floating lodge in Iskut Bay. In Quebec City, Haron Indians—some recent arrivals of the Mohawks in the far west of the 17th

century—mounted their own symbolic blockade in support of the Oka band. And in Calgary, 17-year-old Seneca band member Heather McGuinn undertook a more subdued protest—throwing down her crown as Indian Princess at the Calgary Stampede after organizers gave her a minor role as opening night co-emcee while the non-Indian Stampede Queen sat her Princess-in-regard throne atop. Declared McGuinn: "I am a First Nations person. Why should I be treated like a second-class citizen?"

**Sacked:** Such resentment is resounding across Canada this summer as aboriginal groups rally in their latest attempt to wrest a widespread measure of self-determination from a federal government that they say has failed them. In June, natives brought their discontent to bear on the Meech Lake accord. But Manitoba Cree MLA Elijah Harper's action in blocking ratification of the constitutional amendment at the Manitoba legislature may have dashed native hopes of negotiating settle-

ments with Ottawa on a myriad of land claim and self-government issues. Further east, senior Minister of State for Indian Affairs Shirley Martin told one recent gathering of Indian chiefs that the failure of the accord had relegated native concerns to near the bottom of Ottawa's priorities. "Without Quebec at the table," said Martin, "progress on all constitutional issues, including aboriginal issues, is blocked for the foreseeable future." For his part, Georges Erasmus, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, which represents 440,000 status Indians, said that there is currently an absence of political goodwill on the part of the federal government. "It is difficult to negotiate across a table when there is no table."

As a result, many Indian leaders predict that their concerns will be addressed in the 1990s at the end of a gavel as the Supreme Court of Cana-

da—or, more ominously, at the point of a gun at roadblocks and barricades across the country.

That deteriorating development, however, would only signify a trend that was already well established. Relations between Canada's aboriginal people and the federal government have been increasingly marked in recent years by political standoff and dramatic confrontations. In 1986, B.C. Haida Indians stood in the path of logging machines to stop clear-cutting operations on land that they claimed was theirs. In 1988, the Laleno Cree of northern Alberta set up roadblocks and threatened to blockade oil wells on the 18,000 square miles that they claim.

**Activists:** And some observers say that native militancy is evolving into a sophisticated and double-edged force. Still shackled in many of the country's more than 2,250 reserves by staggering unemployment, crime and chronic poverty, native communities nonetheless are producing a new generation that is remarkably well-versed in the tactics of modern political warfare. And whether at a wish Mohawk coalition concocted at beer bottles at the barricades at Oka, or with legal arguments for use in multimillion-dollar land claims lodged before the courts, there are Indian activists who are prepared for the job. Said Erasmus: "The next generation is looking very actively at tactics. There is a renaissance among native and aboriginal peoples—some of these are far more radical than myself."

Fueled the same desire in native anger and activism is profound distrust among Indian leaders with the federal government. Canada's natives have long held that they should be regarded to deal only with Ottawa—"action to justice" as the Manitoba Cree Gabriel said last week. And in 1984, the Supreme Court of



Maido land-claim demonstration in Edmonton: armed warriors, trained lawyers

Canada ruled that Ottawa has a duty to protect the rights of natives in its dealings with native lands. But native critics say that to many initiatives, the federal government has failed to meet that responsibility.

Last week, native critics had fresh reason to doubt the federal government's commitment on their behalf. Despite repeated assurances as the first few days of the standoff at Oka, federal Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Thomas Seldon did not intervene in the charged situation. Instead,

Seldon insisted, through his staff, that the meeting was purely a matter for provincial jurisdiction over law and order. The minister kept the letter part of the work in his Richmond, B.C., riding, leaving department officials in Ottawa to fend off further media inquiries with a terse acknowledgment that Seldon was "closely monitoring" the situation.

**Maidens:** According to James O'Reilly, a Montreal-based lawyer for several native groups, the federal stance has created a growing frustration among native leaders. "The government considers jurisdiction and power over the Indians a royal pain," O'Reilly, who has represented both the Quebec Cree, in their fight against the Quebec government over James Bay, and those in Alberta.

S.B.E. the Indians are far from simply as easily solved. At the top of the native agenda is the

question that they be recognized in the Canadian Constitution as a fundamental component of the country's social makeup, with associated constitutional protection for their aboriginal rights to self-government. "We see ourselves as nations, different aspects of original civilizations equal to the Canadian government," said Winston McLaurin, a coordinator for the Saskatchewan Federation of Indian Nations, which represents 70,000 natives in 77 bands.

In addition, native groups are demanding increased funding and self-protection from violence. Recent inquiries in Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Alberta that catalogued the extent of bias against native people in provincial justice systems have reinforced demands for an entirely separate system of justice for natives, based on traditional laws. There are also muted calls for guarantees that Ottawa will adhere to treaties signed as long ago as the 19th century—and demands that provincial governments stand to the same.

But what native groups want is often at odds with what Ottawa, and the provincial governments, say they are prepared to give. Calls for more spending on native health and education come at a time when the federal Conservative government is concentrating on deficit reduction. Other demands strike many non-Indian observers as simply unrealistic. Federal officials point out, for instance, that the

various aboriginal land claims affect as much as three-quarters of Canada's territory.

At the same time, settling the land claims and aboriginal rights disputes has proven to be a daunting—and expensive—task for those on both sides of the issues. A robust discussion drafted in the late 1960s suggested that the Canadian government could settle all outstanding aboriginal land claims for \$1 billion—a figure that has since increased through inflation and re-evaluation to an estimated \$4.8 billion. With a federally imposed limit on comprehensive land claims negotiations, had claims opened for negotiation at any one time, native leaders complain that it would take at least 150 years to complete the current caseload.

At the same time, native attempts to take governments to court to win recognition of other land claims—nearly those of Indian

allies—that specific parcels of land were improperly transferred out of native control—have also carried a high price. A British Columbia Supreme Court case involving the aboriginal rights of the Gitksan/We'wema' tribal council, which claims title and sovereignty over 35,350 square miles of the northwestern portion of the province—was area about the size of Nova Scotia—ended two weeks ago after 214 trial days, at an estimated cost to both sides of \$12 million. "Courts are not the best forum for the resolution of issues such as land entitlement," said Clifford Wright, co-ordinator of the Saskatchewan Indian Federation.

**Impatient:** Still other native critics express the impatience that Supreme Court decisions could force native groups to accept undesirable legal interpretations. Many Indian groups, indeed, question the legitimacy of courts established by the authority of the same white governments that many regard as the adversary. Oka Mohawk Lloyd Papp, for one, observed last week that "the problem is going to a white man's court for Indian people."

Despite those difficulties, native leaders have not suggested that their people abandon the protracted search for legal, political or constitutional recognition of their long-cherished and frequently violated aboriginal rights. But it was plain that without some clear and early success, the strategies of negotiation and legal argument could prove far less effective in the coming—and implicit—new generation of confrontations than the clear-out tactics of confrontation.

R. KAYE FELTON in Ottawa with  
MAG GUINN in Vancouver, JOHN BOWSE in  
Calgary, LAWRENCE KROTHENBERG in Quebec  
City and GUY ALLAN in Halifax

#### Erasmus: radical youth

James O'Reilly, a Montreal-based lawyer for several native groups, says the federal stance has created a growing frustration among native leaders. "The government considers jurisdiction and power over the Indians a royal pain," O'Reilly, who has represented both the Quebec Cree, in their fight against the Quebec government over James Bay, and those in Alberta.

# THE NEW REALITY

**KOHL TOOK CENTRE STAGE AS LEADERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS HELD THEIR FIRST POST-COLD WAR SUMMIT**

European Community President Jacques Delors sported a white satin windbreaker with "Grand Ole Opry" scrawled on its back. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney had donned jeans to go with his new sovereign cowboy boots, and Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu brandished a ten-gallon hat. Among the five of eight leaders who attended an air-conditioned rodeo in southern Houston last week, to kick off their 16th annual economic summit, only British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, looking off her usual in her trademark bouffant hairdo, glared stern and pompous, declined to join in the Wild West spirit. But when President George Bush led his guests from a backstage barbershop into the cavernous Astrodome, it quickly became clear that Thatcher's sartorial style was not the sole element of national symbolism to go overy.

As the U.S. anthem, The Star-Spangled Banner, boomed over the loudspeakers, a blond cowboy, in red, white and blue angus and garbed as a horse, rose out of a 21-foot-high cowboy boot on a hydraulic lift, waving a gigantic American flag. Then suddenly, in mid-afternoon, the cowgirl and her horse dismounted back into the hall, leaving his flagpole drastically poking out of the top. To many in the crowd, that image of the rocking Stear and Stearns became an unintended metaphor for one of the most striking developments at what Bush termed the "first post-cold-war summit"—the meeting agenda of the United States in a world where the collapse of the Cold War is rapidly reordering the balance of power.

Indeed, as the leaders of the United States, Canada, Britain, West Germany, France, Italy, Japan and the six straggled to draft a series of compromises for the final communiqué to issue, their reluctance to leave room, it became increasingly obvious that Washington could no



At Rice University (left to right) Delors, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, Kaifu, Mulroney, Bush, Thatcher, Mulroney and Kaifu as the collapse of the Cold War is rapidly reordering the balance of power

longer impose its will on its allies. Not only did they agree to disagree on the summit's three key issues—the environment, free trade and aid to the Soviet Union—but also both the question of a direct bailout for beleaguered Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and renewed loans to China, Bush found himself essentially obliged to give his blessing to the countries with the most economic power, Germany and Japan, to go their separate ways.

Although the summit approved only a six-

month study on how to economically aid the Soviets, Chancellor Helmut Kohl is expected to formally present Soviet's new aid package to Moscow this week. Similarly, the communiqué stated that China had not demonstrated sufficient democratic reforms to warrant resuming further loans—based since last year's crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators. But Japan announced that it stands to negotiate with China to relocate a personally financed \$4-billion loan to its Asian neighbor. In fact, an indepen-

dent-minded did the leaders seem at times that some observers dubbed Bush's gathering the "Summit summit"—after the singer's rendition of his hit, "My Way." And Bush himself seemed comfortable with that drift. "It doesn't work that you have to march in lockstep on all these questions," he said.

In that changing landscape, Mulroney found himself shifting sides with the Germans. And in the process, he seemed at times to be asserting the country's traditional honest broker's role. Canadian officials cleared that his sugges-

tion—outlined in the leaders' own agenda to divert aid. Referring to the \$6 billion that Moscow actually needs to Havana, Mulroney said "I don't think it's offensive to say to somebody who appeared to be pretty beside, 'You know, it's not such a smart thing to take money and fuel a war over there.'"

In fact, the summit served as a showcase for the leaders' obvious delight in each other's company, and Bush went out of his way to give a boost to Mulroney, besieged at home by low polls and criticism of his handling of the Mexico-Lake debate. The Prime Minister was the only leader he singled out for individual thanks in his closing statement. And even before the summit opened, U.S. supporters went out of their way to cater to Mulroney's needs. Canadian officials had wanted to give him a discomfort in his hotel arrival. And by the time they arrived in Houston's opulent 547 C hotel, State Department Protocol Chief Joseph Reed couldn't that he had added a white canopy to shade the leaders as they stood in the courtyard on the opening ceremony in Rice University's quad.

As well as a 22-ton air-conditioning system Master Cool air from below the stage. And as all eight gathered for the long by renditions of their national anthems, Mulroney, who refers from an inner-city alienist that can affect his balance when standing still, was gripping a special T-bar installed for his support.

But the President's greatest effort to bolster Mulroney came on the day before the summit began. After a 30-minute meeting in a restaurant attached to the Houston Hotel, Bush's official evening address in his adopted hometown, the two men emerged to announce that negotiations will begin this

from for a study of the Soviet economy helped begin a standoff between the Americans and the Europeans. In fact, at the end of the two summit in London on July 6, Mulroney had appeared to soften his stance on Soviet aid. He mentioned aloud how far Gorbachev would have to go in implementing democratic reforms before the West supported him with an infusion of cash. "The opportunity now exists," he noted, "and only foolish people would let it slip away."

But after four days in Houston, Mulroney once more drew his support behind Bush, who announced that he was "not enthusiastic about the intercontinental ballistic missiles aimed at

our skies." In the end, Mulroney's closing statement mirrored Bush's own statements to divert aid. Referring to the \$6 billion that Moscow actually needs to Havana, Mulroney said "I don't think it's offensive to say to somebody who appeared to be pretty beside, 'You know, it's not such a smart thing to take money and fuel a war over there.'"

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work in Ottawa towards the Andean Basin accord that Mulroney has long demanded. Having it in a human day in bilateral relations, the Prime Minister acknowledged that "President Bush and I have today longed to get to where we are today." But James FERRELL, of Toronto-based Political Analysis, who was attending a parallel Environment in Houston, described the announcement as "basically inconsequential."

In fact, many environmentalists charged that by announcing the accord today, Bush was merely trying to win his own public relations points on the convention while trying to push the topic to the back burner of the summit's

## SAYING THE UNDESIRABLE

Banking Trade and Industry Secretary Nicholas Ridley, 64, one of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's closest cabinet colleagues, was named *Followers*, a controversial interview published in *The Spectator* weekly magazine in which he said that a proposal for a joint European Community monetary policy was "a German market designed to take over the whole of Europe." He also said that he felt certain to give up sovereignty to the EC was the same as surrendering to Adolf Hitler, and he referred to the French as Germany's "poodles." Although Ridley speculated, opposition politicians demanded his resignation.

## ENDING A DEADLY STRIKE

Nicaraguan workers ended a violent 10-day strike after government negotiators offered them a 43 percent wage increase and promised not to carry out reprisals. At least four people died and 34 without wounds in clashes between thousands of government supporters and leftist strikers, who had erected street barricades and closed the country's airport and borders. President Violeta Chamorro, who took power from the Marxist Sandinistas on April 25, claimed victory because the accord with the strikers did not include any major changes in her efforts to privatize state-owned companies and businesses, or in the monetary policy that has brought frequent devaluations.

## RIOTS IN KENYA

Kenyan authorities charged more than 1,000 people with rioting after four days of anti-government protests in Nairobi and other cities in which at least 20 people were killed. Riots erupted when crowds, demanding multiparty democracy, stoned police and then were dispersed with gas and tear gas.

## YUGOSLAVIAN UNREST

Yugoslavia's largest republic, Serbia, dissolved the government of Kosovo, a province within Serbia that has a predominantly ethnic Albanian population, after the general parliament de-listed itself politically independent of Serbia—a move tantamount to proclaiming it a republic with a Yugoslav state. At least 16 people, mostly ethnic Albanians, have died in a political violence in Kosovo since last year.

## DRUG KINGPINS CAPTURED

Colombian police captured 12 leading members of the Medellín cocaine cartel. But the country's most wanted drug baron, Pablo Escobar, who is wanted for extradition to the United States, eluded capture by a 1,500-man police force.

agenda. And over the course of the parallel meetings, the environmentalists' exchanges with Bush grew increasingly acrimonious—driving to give new meaning to the summit's theme, "Hudson's Hot." After repeated attacks, Bush snuck back at what he called "environment." He added indignantly, "I did not only heavily ask them for support in getting elected President of the United States."

Even more drastic was the theory, standard on agricultural subsidies, which threatened to scuttle the summit. That issue has plagued the United States, which wants an elimination of export subsidies, against the EC, which argues that such a move will threaten many of its farmers out of work. And even after the leaders wound up their final gala dinner, no solution appeared in sight. In fact, negotiations were delayed until 4 a.m. last Wednesday before working out a tenuous compromise to keep both sides happy—and allow Bush to make his last priority announcement, no solution appeared in sight. In fact, negotiations were delayed until 4 a.m. last Wednesday before working out a tenuous compromise to keep both sides happy—and allow Bush to make his last priority announcement.

But the European's solidarity on the issue was yet another indication of the political cooperation now taking place. For one, there was no battle of egos as Thatcher and French President François Mitterrand allowed Bush to emerge as the continent's new strongest and the summit's undisputed star. Not only did he serve as the leader of a so-called six-nation pact that will be the strategic



Bush and Miyazawa pinching homeshoes: a historic day for bilateral relations

and economic linchpin of the new Europe, but Kohl swept into Houston with extra substance after witnessing Germany defeat Argentina at the World Cup soccer last. Indeed, for the first time in summit history, he and Japan's Kishida took their places at global center stage, showing that they are finally ready to take leadership roles equal to their nations' economic strength. And even Thatcher acknowledged the new shift to three regional power blocs—"one based on the dollar, one

on the yen and one on the deutsche mark." That recognition might explain the summit's unusual note of harmony, reflecting its better disagreements on specific issues. As the night leaders began to come to grips with the dizzying changes in Eastern Europe, none of them questioned the fact that, as one U.S. official put it, the era of superpowers has passed.

MARIE McDONALD in Houston

## 'A NOSE FOR OPPORTUNITIES'

Inside the heavily guarded confines of Houston's Jai Alamos Club, the night leaders' attention last week's summit spent their first hour loosely skirting relations that led to a distant Soviet economy that across the city, over a lavish buffet at the same hotel serving as headquarters for British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, that economy got a curious vote of confidence as an unlikely success. Soviet ambassador Andrei Kozyrev, a key figure in the last two years. Scarcely a week after a New York City jury acquitted him of conspiring to help former Philippine first lady Imelda Marcos conceal her holdings at four Manhattan skyscrapers, Kozyrev flew into Houston for a news conference to announce that he was "back in business."

Kozyrev survived three vetoes under a new holding company privately owned by Phoenix Inc., after the bid in Hous-

ton mythology that, when consumed by fire, rose from its own ashes. Declared Kozyrev, "The ship is open." In fact, the ship will be a dominant warehouse at Mission to sell consumer goods to Soviet far flung. With that, he plans to buy Soviet hardware for resale in the West for the dollar. A would-be socialist-dictator, Kozyrev landed inside the Soviet side of U.S. arms in less than five years ago as a way to tap the closed Russian market. And last week, he made no effort to hide the fact that now he wants out of the Soviet black market. "I have a nose for opportunities," he said.

Another Ronald Reagan-derived Kozyrev as the "rich old man in the world" in his book of the same title in 1988, just as Kozyrev's Bak, Lala, City real estate began to crumble into bankruptcy. And Kozyrev's co-ownership party last week in Houston raised questions about his massive co-ownership of a 23-acre property there in 1985 through Marland Holdings



Kozyrev 'back in business'

Associates, which promptly became one of Texas's largest savings and loan failures. But one of Kozyrev's partners in a new Houston-based oil and gas company, Russian Oilfields advisor Jerry Dale Allen, noted him as "the top person in the world for saving deals."

A past French co-director of the Kozyrev's oil company, Allen is a friend and business associate of President George Bush's son Neil, who is currently under investigation as a Danville savings and loan scandal. And as a member of the summit organization committee, Allen invited Kozyrev to the opening-night rodeo for world leaders. At for his own role in the loan-fraud affair, Kozyrev denied reports that he had been prosecuted in part as punishment for exposing the scam. "I don't think there's anything I was involved in that deserved any punishment," he said. "I should be delighted."

M. M.



Bosack (left) with Tutu: "This is one of the darkest days of my life"

## SOUTH AFRICA

# A fall from grace

Bosack resigns his ministry amid scandal

It had the ingredients of a particularly hard case open, but the churchmen—and the script—were all too real. On July 5, a newspaper photographer snapped a portrait of a heavily embarrassed Allan Bosack, one of South Africa's leading anti-apartheid clerics, emerging from Cape Town's upscale Peninsula Hotel. A chambermaid had tipped him as the African daily newspaper *The Argus* that the clergyman was entertaining a woman, well-known TV producer Sina Botz, at his room. Bosack, 44, who is classified by South African law as Colored (mixed race), and Botz, 30, the blond mace of a vibrant anti-apartheid minister, each married to other people. The scandal made *Argus* headlines across the country. Then, in a scene powerfully reminiscent of American televangelist Jimmy Swaggart's sexual admission to his followers in 1988 of "lust"—later revealed as sexual misconduct with a prostitute—Bosack told his Belvidere South congregation that he was broken in as a minister in the church. With tears streaming down his face, Bosack declared, "This is one of the darkest days of my life."

Bosack's emotional announcement appeared to spell the end of a dramatic career as one of South Africa's foremost political clergymen. Without a congregation, and fellow church officials, Bosack was certain to be removed as moderator of the Dutch Reformed Mission

Church, the so-called Colored state church of the Dutch Reformed Church to which most white Afrikaners belong. And without that position, they said, his days were numbered as the justice minister's top pick for the 10-million-member World Alliance of Reformed Churches, a platform that he had often used to bring pressure to bear on Pretoria for its racist policies.

As well, a genuine makeover hangs over his continued leadership of the three-million-member United Democratic Front, the anti-apartheid umbrella organization that he co-founded in 1983. Walter Sisulu, a leader of the African National Congress (ANC), said that Bosack's colleagues would have to reassess his role in the prominent plight of the scandal because "it doesn't appear that the matter will be taken lightly by the people."

One day after Bosack's dramatic Sunday fanned address to his congregation, the scandal hit one newsmen particularly hard. TV anchorman Gile Phisoane, Bosack's estranged husband, broke off a mid-air embrace as he tried to overcome his emotions while reading the

news on Bosack during his Good Morning South Africa newscast. Clearly overwhelmed, Phisoane could not contain, and a colleague had to take over and complete the broadcast.

For Bosack, the scandal of the week's frenzy was also too much. After a painful confrontation with his wife of 21 years, Dorothy, he left the family home outside Cape Town. Saying that he intended to "just write him off" for a few days in Johannesburg, he declared through his legal representative that he was consulting with friends and church colleagues.

In his emotion-laden resignation speech, Bosack accused his flock that "nothing more" had taken place between himself and Botz in the alleged that his marriage had been lying "for some time." But an angry Dorothy Bosack lashed out publicly. "I've been through this once before and cannot live with it again," she said. "Our marriage is over, and that's a fact."

Bosack had been involved in a previous scandal in 1985, when security police indicted him and evidence that he was allegedly having an affair with a South African Council of Churches employee. At the time, Bosack issued a vague statement admitting that he had a "sexual relationship" with a woman named D. Scott. After apologies and an apparent reconciliation between Bosack and his wife, the controversy faded, partly because the source of the information was considered suspect as anti-apartheid circles, and partly because of Bosack's position as a revered leader of the struggle for human rights.

The impact of the latest scandal on the anti-apartheid movement was unclear. Bosack's prominence as a spokesman for the country's newsmen recently has diminished this year over the release of Helmut Manktelow and the legislation of the vote after a 30-year ban. But Bosack will likely continue a steady support figure in anti-apartheid circles. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was hearing his own family problems last week as his son, Thabo, held criminal charges for allegedly making a bomb threat as an import, jumped to Bosack's defense.



Manktelow's negative impact

"People should not think that in the worst kind of way," said Tutu, "and we hope that Allen will work through this onus and be rehabilitated as best his tremendous gifts are put to use in the church and the country."

Despite this, with the second public revelation of an adulterous affair, the controversial Bosack appears to have alienated many of his anti-apartheid supporters. In fact, the acts were done last and Order Minister Louis de Geoghegan once described in newspaper as a "clerk in black robes" may have finally silenced himself.

ANDREW HELEK with CHRIS GRAMMAS in Cape Town



## THE SOVIET UNION

## Is the party over?

Yeltsin's resignation sparks a Communist rift

For nine days, the Kremlin Palace of Congresses was the scene of a bitter battle. Conservative delegates to the 28th Soviet Communist party congress led Viktor Yeltsin, then prime minister, against Mikhail Gorbachev's reform policies, arguing that they had resulted in the party and the Soviet Union's weak state. An angry Gorbachev fought back. "There is no way to bring back the past," he thundered. "And no dictatorship, no violence will solve anything." In the end, Gorbachev prevailed. Last week, delegates re-elected him as party general secretary, and Gorbachev lost back a rightist bid to elect hard-liner Vyacheslav Yavlinsky as his deputy. But then, Gorbachev and the party suffered a potentially revealing blow from the left—a blow that effectively split the leadership party that had ruled the country unchallenged for seven decades.

On Thursday, the 15th day of the congress, radical Boris Yeltsin, announced that he was resigning from the party to concentrate on his work as president of the powerful Russian Federation—marking the first time that a non-Communist leader of a Soviet republic. "In accordance with the new trends in a multiparty system, I cannot follow the instructions of the Communist party," said Yeltsin.

"I have to live to the will of all the people." Yeltsin later, a leader of the Democratic Platform announced that his 104-member radical party faction would also opt to form a new political party. And last week, the mayors of Leningrad and Moscow turned in their party cards.

At Yeltsin's end, it remained unclear how many of the Democratic Platform's members would actually leave. But the split, unprecedented in Soviet history, rocked the congress and underscored what the two breakaway groups



Yeltsin with advisors: moving towards a multiparty system

was, in a joint statement, called "the party's complete inability to offer the country a real program of transition to a new society."

The party split, however, was only one of Gorbachev's problems last week. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens walked off the job, many of them saying that they no longer support the party that claims to be the name of the working class. Gorbachev also failed to win a commitment for massive economic aid from the leaders of industrial nations such as Houston. Western observers said that those

troubles and the political split would further undermine the party's power. Declared Andrei Ulianov, director of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University: "It's only a question of how before some other forces arise. Like the Democratic Platform, which will challenge the party for the right to rule."

Early in the 11-day congress, which began on July 2, the conservatives seemed several victories. They rejected two amendments that would have softened the wording of a statement on the party's military policy, leaving a recent pledge by party leaders to soften their nuclear strategy a light of domestic changes throughout Eastern Europe. The congress concluded that "so far, there are no grounds for the irreversibility of the positive changes, and the military threat to the USSR continues." The congress also approved a resolution condemning the purges of Communist leaders in Eastern Europe, where hard-line regimes overthrew last fall.

Still, the hard liners did not run a candidate against Gorbachev for the post of general secretary. And Gorbachev easily won that election against a relatively unknown rising engineer, Vladimir Avdeyev, by a landslide 3,411 votes to 561. (The other 415 delegates voted against both candidates.) Gorbachev also had little trouble winning support for his plan to reorganize the party hierarchy in a way that effectively would devolve making power from the party to its own headquarters (central council). And the congress voted by a large margin to expand the Politburo to 34 full members from the current 12, and to include the party chiefs from the 15 republics. Western diplomats in Moscow said that the new arrangement was a clear victory for Gorbachev, who would have much less difficulty controlling the largely pro-reform republics than the group of mostly conservative Russian men who have traditionally held sway over the Soviet Union.

The most visible awkwardness between radicals and conservatives surfaced during the election for deputy secretary general. Gorbachev tried, unsuccessfully, to use procedural maneuvers to keep the conservative, 69-year-old Yavlinsky off the ballot. Observers said that, as deputy, Yavlinsky would have seriously undermined Gorbachev's reforms and opened an

cracks of liberals from the party. Gorbachev favored Vladimir Lukin, 54, who responded as president of the Russian capital to run for the post, saying, "It is important that the two people at the top are close in their views." When the congress finally backed Gorbachev, he had 2,776 votes, while Yavlinsky had 3,009 votes to 776. Some delegates said that Gorbachev had succeeded in preserving party unity. But Yavlinsky was widely considered to be a moderate conservative, and although that assured his election in the conservative-dominated congress, it clearly did not satisfy the radicals.

The congress was winding up debate on the composition of the policy-making Central Committee last Thursday when Gorbachev suddenly asked Yeltsin, his longtime political rival, waiting at the microphone. "Ah," said Gorbachev, "I see Boris Yavlinsky has something to say." After Yeltsin's brief impromptu speech, a startled silence filled the chamber. Then, some delegates burst into scattered applause, while others cried, "Shame! Shame!" Gorbachev, who had sat impassively during Yeltsin's brief stay next, commented with a wry smile. "That ends the process logically." Yeltsin walked out of the chamber, through the foyer and outside to a waiting car.

Some observers questioned Yeltsin's timing and suggested that he strove to revive Gorbachev and show the Soviet leader appeared to have succeeded in keeping the party together. "He wanted for Gorbachev to be backed with Communist grins," argued one American analyst living in Moscow. "Then, his daughter, the bombshell!" A Soviet general said that Yeltsin had chosen the wrong moment. "It's like a rat leaving a sinking ship," he said.

Still, even though the actual number of delegates who resigned last week was relatively small, their actions underscored the erosion of the Communist party's power and credibility. Democratic Platform leaders had said before the start of the congress that they would break away if sweeping reforms of the party's structure, including a decision to surrender its direct control over the armed forces, factories and the judiciary, did not follow from the congress's deliberations. Most observers said that the radicals would likely stay to fight for change within the party, especially after Gorbachev appeared to be beating back the conservative challenges. But

left-wing radicals and reformers said that they intended to forge an alliance with other opposition parties. And some analysts predicted that last week's negotiations would provide a further impetus of the party's 14 million members—already knowing at the time of several thousand a day. One delegate told

the congress that he feared "going home to piles of burned party cards."

In the aftermath of the congress, Gorbachev said that he was unconcerned by the negotiations. He said that he viewed with "concern" those who left the party. "I am not weeping from my course," he declared. "And I have many supporters." In fact, many of those elected to the Central Committee on Friday appeared to be supporters of Gorbachev's policies. And Yavlinsky, who was not even a



Gorbachev (left): 'no way to bring back the past'

candidate for the Central Committee, later announced that he would return to his native Siberian village to write his memoirs. Said one foreign reporter in Moscow: "After all the sound and fury of the past few weeks, Gorbachev is going to get to the Central Committee to write to look ahead with reform."

But that reform may not come fast enough for many citizens disillusioned with Communist rule. In the midst of the troubled congress, hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens and writers in St. Petersburg, Ukraine's Donetsk region and the Soviet far north held a 24-hour strike. Although the picket was less orderly than last summer's prolonged wave of nationwide strikes to protest low wages and poor living conditions, it was more politically organized. The miners demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Vladimir Rykov's government, arguing that it had failed to honor the terms of last year's strike settlement. Strikers also demanded the nationalization of property belonging to the party and the withdrawal of party organizations from mass, factories and the armed forces.

Striking citizens outside the gates of the Khrushchev manor, in the heart of the Siberian Khabarovsk region, said that the party and the battle under way between reformers and conservatives in Moscow itself little to them. "The party has been promising us a 'bright future' for 72 years," said Genadiy Makulenko, a strike leader in Siberia. "We don't want a 'bright future,' just a decent tomorrow." Added Andrei Vorobey, a 54-year-old former miner from the Donetsk region: "From 18 years old, I was against the party, but only now, 18 years have been allowed to speak about it."

Potential rivals of the Communist party have stepped up their activity in the Siberian conflict. Permanent workers' committees, outgrowths of last year's strike committees, are virtually parallel government bodies in many mining districts. And representatives of the fledgling Democratic Party of Russia, the Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Platform advanced rallies throughout the Khabarovsk region. "The Communists are no longer the only game in town," declared one Democratic Party organizer. "They had better wake up if it's not too late already."

Those movements were echoed in Moscow, where many citizens say that the Communists have lost their significance. In a recent poll by the Academy of Sciences, Moscowites gave the party only an eight-point approval rating. Said Nadezhda Dushakova, a 34-year-old housewife: "Before, the party had relevance for us because it was a threat, an authority symbol. Now it isn't really a mark of either."

As the split in Communist ranks grew deeper, the party's loss of its traditional part of many general forms in the emerging democracy that Gorbachev himself has set in motion.

MARY KENNETH with JAMES HILLMAN in Moscow

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Refugees at West German Embassy in Tirane, seeking a better life in the West

## ALBANIA

# Sailing to freedom

*Refugees flee Europe's last Stalinist state*

**A**lbania's fiercely loyal leaders, the last guardians of Stalinism in Eastern Europe, have traditionally allowed few outsiders into the country and permitted even fewer Albanians to leave. But last week, the government of President Ramiz Alia abruptly allowed a mass exodus of nearly 5,000 Albanian refugees who had found sanctuary in foreign embassies in early July. Most of them were flown from Tirana, the capital of the Balkan state, to the Adriatic coast under cover of darkness, and then ferried by ship to Italy and France. An Italian official said that the secretive operation was designed to elude other would-be detectors—but it seemed likely to encourage even more disenchanted Albanians to flee their homeland. "Everyday words freedom," said a growing number of emigrant Albanians as they disembarked in Italy. "All the world is good West."

The episode seemed to favor Alia, widely regarded as a moderate among Albania's repressive leaders. Although obviously enticed by the exodus, the president used the opportunity to fire four of the most hard-line cabinet members who had opposed his cautious reform program. Western diplomats said, however, that Alia himself had precipitated the

crisis by raising Albanians' expectations beyond his government's willingness to accept outsiders.

Although the president had long resisted the more dramatic denunciations of Eastern Europe, in May he lifted a ban on religious observances, eased restrictions on travel abroad and introduced a few modest privatization measures in the state-controlled economy. That clearly did not satisfy Albanians who watch Yugoslav television and had witnessed the collapse of communism elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Many took the easing of travel restrictions as an excuse to seek sanctuary in the French, German, Italian, Czechoslovakian and Hungarian missions.

The refugees sought embassy walls, broke down doors and, in some instances, even used teargas to crash through the gates of diplomatic compounds. Sanitary conditions quickly deteriorated as more and more Albanians crowded in. While Italian diplomats and its envoy Stefano de Martino negotiated with the Albanian government to let the refugees leave, the government most reluctantly refused to allow food, medicine and other emergency supplies to enter the embassies. The state-controlled Albanian press agency also stepped up its pressure,

reporting that Alia had received hundreds of letters and telegrams from citizens expressing their "profound indignation" at all those who seek to leave the peaceful life of their country.

But Alia, clearly reconsidering East Germany's inability to stem the flight of its citizens to the West last fall, eventually capitulated. The first group of refugees allowed to leave, 51 from the Czechoslovakian embassy, flew from Vienna to Prague on July 9. Three days later, 4,750 Albanians left the German, French and Italian embassies in the dead of night for a 20-hour bus ride to the Adriatic port of Durres, where they boarded the ships lying in the old Albanian harbor, an Italian foreign ministry official said, and their Albanian authorities insisted that the operation be completed that same night. "We know there are hundreds of people in the woods around Tirana who could try to slip the buses and join them," Gerdien told journalists waiting in the Italian port of Brindisi. "It is the most delicate act, perhaps, most dangerous phase of the operation."

The sea left west off without a hitch, however, and, on Friday morning, four shipsloads of refugees arrived in Italy where a 100-ft barge for France, 300-ft barge for Germany and three tugboats, many of the crew already seemed stunned. Some cheered "Italy, Italy" as they disembarked. Others wailed and crossed themselves. "I feel so many emotions, so much liberty," said one young woman. Added Agim Kallisti, 32, carrying his 5-year-old daughter on his shoulders: "We have found freedom." Several refugees who had been themselves sailing as cargo, or who had been wounded by police gunfire, were carried off the ships on stretchers. And a 300-ton cargo ship wrapped a newborn baby in an orange blanket and rushed by to a waiting ambulance.

Italian officials said that the refugees would likely settle in the countries whose embassies they had occupied—Italy accepted about 300, France gave refuge to 700 and West Germany took in 1,800. But many Germans, already complaining about Turkish guest workers and a massive influx of East German refugees, seemed unenthusiastic about playing host to the Albanians. "A victory for freedom, a problem for us," said the daily newspaper Bild. It went on to point out that the Albanians did not speak German, many of them cannot read or write and they have few of the specialized skills needed in a modern, industrialized society.

In South Africa, Alia's most congenial ally, King Leka, claimed credit for organizing the refugee exodus. Leka, who was only one day old when Italian Fascists deposed his father, King Zog, in 1938, told interviewers that he had given the repressive Tirana government "a headache." And he suggested that it was just a matter of time before he regained his throne. But with the Communists still firmly entrenched in Tirana, his chances of returning to power in the near future appeared to be remote.

WILLIAM JENNEN with correspondence by Agim

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

## A TROUBLED HERO

He quickly became a symbol of Quebec's new entrepreneurial and enterprising spirit. Last August, Michel Gaucher, the ambitious president of Sococom Inc., a Montreal shopping company with annual revenues of just \$142 million, secured just the national spotlight when Sococom was a \$1-billion takeover battle for control of Stenoberg Inc., Quebec's third-largest supermarket chain. Sococom defeated a powerful English-Canadian rival—Ordon Investments Inc., a partnership of Bay Street firms with extensive experience in takeovers. But Gaucher, 46, had a powerful partner of his own: the province's \$30-billion pension and auto insurance fund, the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec, secured more than \$1 billion in loans for Gaucher. Now, Gaucher's story as a paragon of the new Quebec appears to be in peril. Unable to succeed in selling off some of Stenoberg's assets to reduce its remaining \$470-million debt, the Caisse could step in to not break up the 73-year-old supermarket chain, endangering thousands of jobs—and clearing Sococom of its debt. "We have to reduce the debt by \$500 million by the end of August," says Marie-Claude Selver, Sococom's vice-president of finance. If not, she adds, "we are in a deeper market, and everybody needs blood."

Gaucher's struggles are a stunning reversal. Quebec's increasingly cosmopolitan business class along with the political elites. Everybody from Premier Robert Bourassa to Pierre Lacroix, president of Stenoberg competitor Promag Inc., joined Gaucher and former Caisse president Jean Cusumano as Quebec barons for outmaneuvering Stenoberg's Quebec, which controlled Oxford Development Group Inc., Toronto investor George Miami's Kingdom, Capital Group Inc. and Gordon Investment Corp. He did not spend two years attempting to acquire Stenoberg, and if it had been successful, it planned to sell off Stenoberg's supermarket



Stenoberg shoppers: the leader could step in and break up the 73-year-old supermarket chain

## MICHEL GAUCHER, A SYMBOL OF QUEBEC BUSINESS CONFIDENCE, IS STRUGGLING WITH MASSIVE DEBTS

operations to Toronto-based Loblaws Co. Ltd. and retain only its real estate operations. Gaucher, in turn, promised that his bid would retain some economic benefits for Quebec. In February, six months after buying Stenoberg, he showed a dramatic contrast after delivering a bombastic speech to the Montreal Chamber of Commerce that outlined his

aspirations as a leading francophone businessman. Said University of Montreal business professor Jean-Marie Tardieu: "He became a very important symbol in the province."

But now Gaucher's critics say that his underdog status has hurt Quebec business and that the Caisse allowed him to get in over his head. Says Francis Lussier, a Stenoberg union executive who supported Oude's bid last August: "It is a true Quebecois, but we would have been better off with Loblaws. If Gaucher is a reflection of the low level of Quebec entrepreneurs, then count me out."

For his part, Gaucher is desperately trying to sell assets to reduce Sococom's debt, which is costing the company about \$62 million in annual interest charges. He has moved from his posh Sococom offices in downtown Montreal to Stenoberg's run-down distribution warehouses, where he spends 16 hours a day overseeing a cost-cutting program. "I have moved into the bowels of the operation," he told Maclean's last week. "We have already cut overhead by \$35 million," Gaucher also defended his ac-

quisition strategy. "We never said we could keep it whole," he said. "The Caisse did the acquisition for business reasons and not for 11." Gaucher acknowledges, however, that the Caisse, which now owns 15 per cent of Stenoberg, is taking a hard, businesslike view of his debt problem and that the relationship is strained. Said Gaucher: "The Caisse is not easy on anyone. They are very cold and calculating. They run with little emotion."

At the time of the takeover, Stenoberg employed 18,000 people in Quebec and 17,000 in Ontario and the United States. The new management team, led by Jean-Roch Pothier, the former president of Stenoberg's Canadian food retailing division, has already cut 200 head-office jobs and almost 100 jobs at the N. Scott Inc., a chain of 20 money-losing Quebec discount department stores.

Gaucher intends to return Stenoberg's 160 Quebec supermarkets and its related wholesaling operations, its more than 70 Vols Food stores, Scott's Super Value Inc. (a chain of 38 Atlantic grocery stores) and some of Stenoberg's smaller stores. In order to help finance the takeover, he tried to sell two of Stenoberg's largest out-of-province grocery stores, chains Charles Food Mart in Ontario and Scott's. But Gaucher has been unable to find a buyer who would meet his reported \$300-million asking price for Scott's and has decided to

of that debt, \$454 million, is owed to banks. But while emphasizing Stenoberg's real estate and food retailing divisions, he has a high probability, former Stenoberg executives say that it could hurt the chain's ability to compete. Many of Stenoberg's stores were located on property and in shopping centres it owned, giving them long-term security. Says former Stenoberg president Irving Lasker: "There was a great synergy between Stenoberg's retail operations and real estate."

Indeed, some analysts now say that although the Caisse obtained the valuable real estate that it coveted, it may have done so to the detriment of Stenoberg and its 35,000 employees. The University of Montreal's Tardieu says that the company's security would have been better served had the Caisse backed an earlier unsuccessful bid mounted by Lasker and a group of Stenoberg managers. In the first year ended July 29, 1990, Lasker's bid lost at the company. Stenoberg earned a profit of \$54 million on revenues of \$4.5 billion, compared with a loss of \$17 million the previous year. Adds Tardieu: "They know the business and they had some money. Gaucher was a food retailer, and he is finding out it is not a simple business."

Desperate for cash, Gaucher has asked the union representing 13,000 of Stenoberg's supermarket workers for major contract concessions. Still, despite the \$25-million reported reduction, Sococom lost \$3.9 million on revenues of \$2.3 billion during the first nine months after the takeover.

Some analysts now say that Gaucher expects a streak of one-coincidence among Quebec's harsh new level of businessmen and that the Caisse failed its extensive analysis. Says Tardieu: "It is a real tragedy, a respected Montreal investment analyst and a former adviser to the Stenoberg family, says: 'Many of these people had success once before. I doubt and believed that Luby Lasker would be with them always. There has been an excessive emphasis on deals rather than effective management.'"

Gaucher's troubles have sent a chill through the Quebec business community. Says Sococom's Selver: "This transaction was a leverage/leverage because the Caisse was looking for a long term." Certainly, at least Gaucher will have to temper his ambitions.

DAN BURKE in Montreal

Gaucher, trying to sell assets



## Business Notes

## BILIONAIRES GALORE

For the fourth consecutive year, *Forbes* lists Toronto's wealthiest, a Japanese entrepreneur and worth the magazine estimated at \$12.4 billion in the world's richest persons. The Toronto-based Roshana family ranked seventh, with \$10.1 billion in assets. The New York City-based publication said that other Canadian billionaires include the Irving family of New Brunswick, Kenneth Thomson of Toronto and the Weston brothers, Gail of Toronto and Gerry of London.

## POWER STRIPPED

Canada's Competition Tribunal can no longer interfere in orders. The Federal Court of Appeal ruled that the tribunal exceeded its authority when it cited Chrysler Canada Ltd. with contempt for not complying with an order to produce documents to an independent Montreal auto-parts firm. The tribunal is considering an appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada.

## WOLSON LOOKING ABROAD

Molson Co. Ltd. of Toronto is seeking \$300 million through a public offering of shares and debentures with a view to making a major acquisition. Molson president Marshall Cohen said that the brewery is looking at opportunities in Western and Eastern Europe.

## HAGI SALE HERE

Magna International Inc., the Markham, Ont.-based auto-parts manufacturer, announced that talks to sell its Hagi electronic motors division to Siemens AG, the West German electrical giant, for an undisclosed sum were at their "final stages." Magna said in March that it would sell some operations to reduce its \$3-billion debt.

## NEW TENANT SIGNED

Toronto Investor Conrad Black's Daily Telegraph will move into five floors of Centra Office at 100 King St. West, the \$5-billion London project is completed in 1991. In exchange, Olympia & York Developments Ltd., whose owners, the Toronto-based Roshana family, are developing the project, will buy the Telegraph's weekly current affairs magazine, on the life of Dogs for an undisclosed amount.

## HAG TAKEOVER

The Canadian Publishing division of Maclean's Inc., publishers of Maclean's and more than 100 other magazines, has acquired a controlling interest in C.M. Media Ltd., publisher of Canadian Business and Small Business, after Key Publications Co. Ltd. agreed to sell its 33-per-cent stake for an undisclosed price.



# Troubled waters in Atlantic Canada

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Even in this down time for Canada's economy, few industries are as in deep trouble as the East Coast fishery. Fed up to their gills with the March 1st debacle, the few fish that remain have been keeping their distance from Canadian shores, an overvalued dollar is cutting into export sales, and obsolete plants require major capital investments at a time when most companies are bled dry by huge debts, crippling interest rates and red balance sheets.

No exception is the largest of the Atlantic operations, National Sea Products Ltd. in Halifax. Flying on a monthly \$2 million in interest on a \$200-million bank loan, having suffered a \$20-million loss last year, and faced with unsalable but drastic declines of wild stocks at sea, freezer and landings, the company has already closed or drastically reduced plant operations in Canada and Liverpool, N.S., as well as in St. John's, Nfld.

But unlike most other operations, National Sea is successfully retooling its facilities and, under aggressive young management, may be on the verge of a turnaround. "In some ways, this company is a microcosm for Canada under free trade," I was told by Henry Demone, the 36-year-old ex-translator who was recently appointed president. "We have retained our dominant position in Canada with a 60-per-cent market share in frozen seafood, yet only a quarter of our sales are domestic. We can't be a successful company by just relying on the home market. We have to be good, very good, compared to the rest of the world."

"Free trade," he points out, "means having to retool to retool to retool our processing and production facilities. As well as some Canadian plants, we've had to close down in Rockland, Me. We've reduced our processing capacity from 350 million to about 200 million pounds, which is close to our market's availability of 175 million. At the same time, we've moved production of all our frozen seafood exports to Lunenburg, where we're competitive with the largest American processors, despite the re-

*'If greed means losing \$32 million,' says National Sea president Henry Demone, 'then I need a new definition of greed'*

moving 11-per-cent tariff and high value of the Canadian dollar."

The Lunenburg plant, which employs 400, has also started to produce for the Australian market, while in the United States, National Sea now ranks fourth in retail fish sales, with its Booth and Fisher Bay brands. "The United States," adds Demone, "is not really a national market, so we're going to be trying to become dominant in the Mississippi region, leaving New York and California to others."

The company's fleet has been similarly rationalized, with the number of trawlers reduced from 60 to 32. Its ice factory ship, the \$70-ton Cape North, and the freezer-trawler Cape Aster are fully occupied nine months of the year, but less than half of the fish the company sells is its own catch. To minimize cost inefficiencies, fish from Alaska, Poland, Argentina and Uruguay have been added to the product mix.

Since 1984, National Sea Products has lost more than 150 million pounds in fish quotas because of reduced ocean stocks. That's part of an overall 37-per-cent reduction imposed by Ottawa. "Many of us who have worked in this industry," complains Richard Cohen, president of the 33,000-member Fisheries, Food

& Allied Workers Union, "are outraged at the paralysis that seems to grip those responsible for the management of the resource. Never in my 30 years of association with government and the industry have I ever felt the fishermen to be so far removed from the broad political agenda of our country."

Demone is equally upset about the quota reductions, but blames overfishing by Portugal and Spain, as well as by Nova Scotia fishermen trying to catch up on debt repayments for their boats. But he applauds the fact that Ottawa is putting more funds into research to trace fish cycles. "The federal government has taken a balanced view of the industry and done its best even when its decisions are politically unpopular," he contends. He is particularly happy with Fisheries Minister Desmond McManus's recent decision to pump \$564 million into rebuilding fish stocks and encouraging diversification.

With National Sea controlled by four dominant shareholders—the Jodrey family of the Annapolis Valley (38 per cent), the Selby family of Miramichi, N.S. (14 per cent), the Bank of Nova Scotia (13 per cent) and the federal government (11 per cent)—the company has enjoyed solid financial backing through its profit downturn. But Gordon Cummings, Demone's predecessor, was adamantly opposed for not anticipating the company's fiscal crisis early enough. The choice of Demone (whose family name dates back to European ancestors who came to Lunenburg in the 1700s) surprised corporate Britain because he is still in his 30s.

The son and grandson of trawler captains, Demone grew up in the industry, working at sea during the summers while studying mathematics at the University of Acadia in Wolfville, N.S., and at Dalhousie University in Halifax. He dropped out of his master's program to join National Sea's export department in 1977, but resigned three years later to become regional sales manager for Western Europe of Prime White Ltd., a Swedish food group. He lived in France and was set to make his career there when William Morrow, National Sea's president at the time, asked him to lead up the company's international division in 1984.

The drastic plant closures and other rationalizations he has put into effect since becoming president last year have provoked heated protests. National Sea's first-quarter earnings showed a \$4.5-million profit on revenues of \$270.5 million, but 1989 will still be a year of heavy losses. "I think the company has seen its worst days," he predicts, "though I'm not sure this is true for the industry as a whole."

Meanwhile, Demone is angry with left-wing political critics who accuse his company of being greedy. "When you close fish plants in Atlantic Canada, you're hurting sea villages," he says. "But the fact is that National Sea was deprived of a lot of fish quotas between 1984 and 1989, yet we didn't close any fish plants for social reasons. That's how we lost so much money. If greed means losing \$32 million, then I need a new definition of greed. But the size of their worst can't be that illogical."

Demone is determined not to give them another chance.

## Our secret ingredient.

Fact: Most Canadian rye whiskeys are distilled from corn. We have a secret ingredient. See if you can find it in this ad. Hint: Look for a three letter word.



## AID AND COMFORT

The wife of former Beatle George Harrison, Olivia Harrison, is co-ordinating a relief effort for Romanian orphans. Harrison persuaded the other Beatles' wives, Linda McCartney and Barbara Bach, and John Lennon's widow, Yoko Ono, to donate money and make public appeals. She has also organized a charity album, scheduled for release next week, featuring Yoko Ono and Eric Clapton, among others. Said Harrison: "I'm just a wife and mother, trying to do my little bit."

## EXPERIENCE NOT NECESSARY

Growing up in musical families helped the members of the pop group Wilson Phillips, says Chynna Phillips, 22, daughter of Michelle Phillips (former singer with The Mamas and the Papas). Chynna and that, though she and her friends Carrie, 22, and Wendy Wilson, 30, daughter of Brian Wilson of The Beach Boys, had no experience and no material, they landed a record deal after singing for a friend of Chynna's mother. Their first album, *Wilson Phillips*, is now in the Top 10. The singers credit their parents for their style, but, says Chynna, "We were much more influenced by The Eagles."

Chynna, Carrie, Wendy: influenced

## A fatal screen debut

Rock 'n' roll singer Jon Bon Jovi says himself that, after "remembering a lot of part in his first movie, 'Acting is boring.'" The lead singer for the band Bon Jovi adds, "You have to act around for hours." Next month, he will make his screen debut as a prisoner in the western *Young Guns 2*, starring Kiefer Sutherland and Emilio Estevez. The role came about by chance. "It was only on the set because I was writing the novel 'Lucky' and Bon Jovi," and they asked me if I wanted to escape from jail. I capture a deputy, steal his gun and I shoot the sheriff about me. It takes me longer to explain than my whole line on screen." Bon Jovi, 26, is more positive about the film's sound track, his first effort without his Bon Jovi bandmates, which he recorded with rock greats Eddie Van Halen, Little Richard and Jeff Beck. Said Bon Jovi: "It was the thrill of a lifetime to play with these guys." As for his movie career, that will come on hold. Said Bon Jovi: "My writing debut was that deal anyway."

Bon Jovi: 'thrill of a lifetime'



Prince Edward, supposed to be marry

## The rain man

Last week, Prince Edward, 36, added a damp four-day tour of Montreal, his first visit to the province. Rainy weather dogged the man who is seventh in line to the British throne, and over lunch in St. Mills, he faintly observed, "I thought Montreal was supposed to be very sunny." The prince's host, Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon, explained, "We wanted you to feel at home, so we're giving the blue skies for later." To which the youngest son of Queen Elizabeth II replied, "I everybody had on this sort of weather and children if it rains, why on earth would we travel?"



## A bird in the book

Birding expert Roger Tory Peterson says that, as a student, he was in a "radical group" that believed birds should not be shot to be observed. That led him to publish his first bird guide in 1924 and, now, a 1990 version of *A Field Guide to Western Birds*. Peterson, 82, and that his books encourage environmental awareness. He added: "Birds are a litmus of the environment. Any bird watcher has to take account."



Carl M. Kautz

## SPORTS

## A rider with pride

For 10 days, Steve Bauer led the pack

High winds and bleak, cold weather marked the first nine days of the annual Tour de France bicycle race. But Canadian cyclist Steve Bauer appeared to be invulnerable to the elements. For the first 10 days of the 32-day race, as the 190 competitors raced from a park near Ponten in western France to Paris, Bauer sported the yellow jersey that the rider with the best overall time wears. Then on July 10, the riders entered the grueling Alpine portion of the race. During the 118-km ride from Geneva to St. Gervais, France, Bauer, 31, relinquished the lead to Frenchman Rolf Sørensen. By the end of last week, the nature of French soil, said in 2000 pace. That effectively shattered Bauer's hopes of finishing among the first three. Still, Bauer said that he was pleased with his achievement: "I've actually accomplished more than I hoped for in winning the jersey for 10 days," he said. "Those were the best days of my career. I did my best."

Unpredictable weather and long days of riding with little rest make the annual 3,400-km Tour de France one of the world's most demanding sporting events. Bauer, one of the top 20 bicycle racers in the world, was the only Canadian competing in this year's ride, which French sportsmen say is the nation's most important international sporting event after the Olympics and World Cup soccer. Professional cyclists, including Bauer, spend much of the year training for the event, which started on June 30 and is scheduled to end with a traditional parade along the Champs-Élysées in Paris on July 31. "The Tour is the one everyone knows and respects," said Robert Gosselin, spokesman for the Paris-based Tour de France Society, which organizes the event. "It's not just French, it's a way to cheer and it's a pure test of strength and ability."

Still, the consensus among competitors is that the Tour is decided in the mountains. Indeed, Bauer led the group with a decisive first day in the Alps, finishing 31 other riders—and more than 22 minutes behind Bauer. Although he is a capable sprinter, Bauer says that mountains are his weak area. "I'm a good all-around cyclist," he told *Maclean's*. "But I couldn't honestly say that I'm a good climber because of the past four winters I've lost." The lead changed hands among the great climbers throughout the rest of the week. After Sunday's leg, Italy's Claudio Chiappucci held first place, followed closely by Erik Breckenfeld of the Netherlands at second, and defending champion Greg LeMond of the

United States at third. Pressure had dropped to the fourth spot. With a difficult stretch of cycling through the Pyrenean mountains beginning on July 17 and 18, the standings could still change drastically.

Although individual cyclists emerge as winners, the Tour de France is a team sport. The race itself is complicated. This year, 22 teams of five riders were participating in a series of 21 races over varying distances. They include mass-start road races, individual time trials,



Bauer: 'It was not everything for me'

during which riders set off separately and try for their best times, and team time trials, the results of which are added to the aggregate time of each team member. As with riders competing for points in sprints and hill-climbing. During the road races, team members use ingenious strategies to save the person on their best rider. And, typically, Bauer's fellow riders on the team sponsored by New York City-based 7-Eleven Convenience Food Stores

rode in front of him and on both sides to reduce wind resistance for him.

As the Tour travelled around France, more than 4,000 spectators, journalists and team organizers flocked to the cities and towns along the route. The highest fee for a Tour is about \$25 million, with advertisers contributing about \$15 million and television rights producing another \$4 million to \$5 million. The rest is contributed by cities along the route and team registration fees. About \$3 million goes out to prize—valued at about \$450,000 to the winner, who shares the money with his team.

A silver-medal winner according to the 1944 Los Angeles Olympics, Bauer has devoted his life to the sport since then. Bauer has played hockey and football, among other sports. He says that he always preferred cycling. By 1972, he had been selected for the Canadian junior team, only to be promoted to the senior team later that same year. Because he was so young—110 months in 1969—Bauer says that he does not have to do much other training. He spends the winter with his wife, Elaine, 31, and 13-month-old son, Cohen, in Fernwick, a small farming community near Newmarket, Ont., where he grew up. But for the past five years, he has spent racing seasons with his family in Gillingham, Belgium. "It's very peaceful to live in Belgium because I'm near the sites of the most important races," he explained.

Bauer, who has said that he expects to earn more than \$500,000 this year from his sponsors and from prize money, has ridden impressively in recent years. He won a silver medal for five days in the 2008 Tour de France and finished in fourth place overall. As well, he won the Grand Prix des Andalous in Montreal in 1988. But despite his victory in the world championship in Belgium last August, Bauer stands only 16th in the World Cup after four of the 12 races this year. But in April, he came second in the highly regarded race from Paris to Brussels, near the Belgian border, losing to Belgian Eddy Merckx by less than an inch.

Last week, Bauer was clearly disappointed with his performance in the Alps, but said he was determined not to ease the pressure on himself until the Tour was over. After a relatively easy 144-km ride from Villard de Ban to St. Etienne on Saturday, Bauer was still more than 23 minutes behind race leader Chiappucci. Still, the cyclist admitted that he was proud of his success. "The pressure is not there, and people know as well," said Bauer. "To win is not everything for me."

NORLA UNDERWOOD with GENE HATZDIN  
in St. Gervais

# Brittle bones

Reporting a new treatment for osteoporosis

**A**fter Laura Harris began to experience pain in her spine four years ago, her doctor diagnosed the London, Ont., woman as having osteoporosis, a condition in which a hormonal deficiency and the aging process cause the victim's bones to diminish and become dangerously brittle. Her doctor added that there was little he could do to help. Said Harris, now 55: "He had me thinking I'd be in a wheelchair before long." Although symptoms of postmenopausal hormone and/or other hormones called calcitonin helped Harris avoid that fate, she has suffered several small spinal fractures. Now, tests carried out in the United States have raised the prospect that a drug that has been used since 1978 to treat



Harris: 'He had me thinking I'd be in a wheelchair before long'

Paget's disease can also reverse some of the effects of osteoporosis, a debilitating illness that afflicts Harris and more than 900,000 other Canadians.

In a study published last week in the highly regarded *New England Journal of Medicine*, researchers from seven U.S. universities reported that patients treated alternately with ethidronate and vitamin D over a two-year period had 56 per cent fewer fractures than those who just took calcium pills. The nationwide trial, which involved 629 women with osteoporosis who had suffered spinal fractures, confirmed the results of a smaller Danish study released in May.

The new findings, says Dr. Nelson Watts, associate professor at the Emory University School of Medicine in Atlanta, a member of the research team, could make a significant "map of choice" in treating osteoporosis. That affliction affects more than 15 million Americans and is blamed for 1.3 million fractures annually. The condition is particularly common among older women, because after menopause their bodies produce less estrogen, the female sex hormone that plays a crucial role in maintaining healthy bone tissue.

The report by Watts's group said

that among the osteoporosis sufferers tested, ethidronate increased bone mass in the spine and reduced by 50 per cent the incidence of new spinal fractures in women treated with the drug, compared to the members of a control group who were given a placebo, or inert drug; that while the study found that ethidronate increased bone mass in the spine area, it failed

to produce significant improvement in participants' hips or wrists.

Although the U.S. study focused on women who already have osteoporosis, some doctors said that there may be a role for ethidronate in preventing the condition. Dr. Jonathan Adachi, an associate professor of medicine at the McMaster University medical school in Hamilton and president of the Osteoporosis Society of Canada, said that women's bones seem to weaken after their ovaries stop producing high levels of estrogen. As a result, some postmenopausal women have successfully used estrogen supplements to ward off osteoporosis. Still, Adachi said that many women are reluctant to take estrogen because of a suspected link to breast cancer and because estrogen can cause nausea, so he cautions doctors to prescribe it to women after studies "with younger ladies to see if we can prevent fractures as the first place."

In fact, the Canadian subsidiary of Norwalk, N.Y.-based Norwalk Kase, their osteoporosis line, which manufactures ethidronate and funded the U.S. and Danish studies, says it wants to launch a study that will test, like the American survey, would test the effects of ethidronate on older women with osteoporosis. The new study will be directed by Dr. Re-

gina Gerson, an associate professor at the University of British Columbia medical school. Ethidronate, which Procter & Gamble Co. first developed in the mid 1960s, has been used for the past 32 years to treat Paget's disease of the bone, an illness that causes a cycle of rapid bone formation and deterioration in three per cent of the population over the age of 40.

Meanwhile, some doctors suggested that the effects of ethidronate on people with osteoporosis need further study. In an editorial in the *New England Journal* accompanying the Watts study, Lawrence Riggs, an osteoporosis expert at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minn., called the drug "a welcome new option," but questioned whether it could have damaging effects on bone strength or bone-cell activity. For her part, Dr. Jean Harrison, a professor of medicine at the University of Toronto, said that the U.S. study was "promising but not conclusive. We need longer trials and comparison with other drugs." Still, for Laura Harris and others suffering from osteoporosis, ethidronate may offer hope of relief from a debilitating and painful condition.

Adachi: many women are reluctant to take estrogen



DAVID BRADY

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# Who's who, what's what and why.



It's no accident that you find Peter C. Newman's Business Watch column in the heart of Maclean's. Newman's access to the influential gets you closer to the real story, exclusively in Canada's Weekly News magazine.

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## MEDIA WATCH



## Cutting the papers down to size

BY GEORGE BAIN

**O**n the parcel scales at the local post office, the July 7 issue of *The Saturday Star*, the slier and bigger of *The Toronto Star's* prosperous weekend pair, weighed 684 grams, 96 short of *the Observer's* push at 780 g, in the old measure. The Audit Bureau of Circulations' average sales figure for *The Saturday Star*, as it appeared in that day's issue, was 783,082 copies. That many copies of a paper that size—186 pages—represents 680 metric tons of newspaper. The companion *Sunday Star* for July 8, at only 190 pages, weighed 515 grams, which, given a circulation figure of 533,695 copies, indicated 274 metric tons of newspaper consumed. Together, that made 953 metric tons. (All these figures, and others that follow, are for ratings stripped of advertising supplements for which the newspaper serves only as a delivery vehicle.)

Measuring the thickness of a newspaper is less precise than weighing it on the post office scales, mainly because thickness will vary depending on how much or little the paper is compressed. But a 100-page copy of *The Sunday Star*, folded in the ordinary way, jockeyed from near the top of the stack on the newspaper stacks, runs just over one centimeter thick. The *Saturday Star's* paper is about two. Apple the respective Sunday and Saturday circulation figures of 523,666 and 762,085 to those measurements and what you have are two towering stacks of newspapers, the shorter 5,337 m tall and the taller, 15,481 m. That means for *The Sunday Star's* stack as early as tall as Mount Macinnes in Tennessee (5,992 m), and for *The Saturday Star*, a stack nearly twice as tall as Mount Everest is Nepal (8,848 m).

*The Saturday Star* is unique, the biggest newspaper physically and in circulation in the country. But *The Sunday Star*, although its smaller circulation is enough to make the publishers of most other newspapers weep with envy, at least is also unusual. *Canada's* has become the weekend norm. Following the two *Stars* onto the scales at the same weights were the *Winnipeg Free Press*, 539 grams, the

*Much editorial matter in weekend papers is to news what popcorn is to nutrition; some of the rest may be 'ad-enhancing material'*

*Montreal Gazette*, 545 grams; *The Ottawa Citizen*, 552 grams; and the *Calgary Herald*, 555 grams. All four were Saturday issues, although the same newspapers also publish smaller, but not small, Sunday editions. The theory that underlies the development of editors' weekend issues is that the weekend is when people have time to settle down to a good read. The circulation figures say that newspaper buyers accept the theory. The question is whether there is as much as there is to suggest in the media the eye, and whether most of what there is need keep anyone long from the ball game or not.

For a start, what a small survey of some weekend newspapers discloses is that their claim to be current primarily of news—or even of any form of editorial matter, which takes in pictures, stock tables, weather charts, cartoons—is misleading. Again, not to appear to pillory *The Toronto Star*, with its combined Saturday-Sunday circulation of just under 1.3 million, the paper is not alone in being let more in a wide margin than a news median. For example, the front, and front, news section of the July 7 *Ottawa Citizen* showed a 68.34 percentage split in advertising to editorial material, significantly above the 60-40 balance the

industry usually offers, when it measures the subject as all, as the boundary line of editorial matter. There was one page, the front page, clear of advertisements, and one full-page ad. The rest in the 16-page section ran between 25.4 per cent and 84 per cent ads. Still, the front, and again, news section of the July 8 *Sunday Star* improved on that. With fewer clear pages, and a balancing four pages carrying full-page ads, a remaining 35 pages presented a roughly 75:25 percent ratio of ads to editorial material.

What is worse about our weekend newspapers is that much of the editorial matter they do contain is to news what popcorn is to nutrition, and that some of the rest is what might be called advertisement-enhancing material. The noticeable news content of any section of a newspaper that has the word "news" in its title can be counted upon to have a high proportion of material gratifying to the real estate industry whose advertising fills most of the pages. (A heading in the July 7 *Saturday Star* proclaimed, "Media claim bottom-selling, continuing in news.") Media is a large Toronto-area developer. Travel sections must largely to wrap a few stories about distant romantic places around advertisements designed to stir a list for distant romantic places in susceptible readers. Entertainment sections in service figures are primarily vehicles for movie ads. A section headed "Careers" within a section of job ads.

It is unfair to compare Canadian weekend papers with, say, the *Sunday New York Times*, or with such London papers as *The Sunday Times*, the *Observer*, the *Sunday Telegraph* and the new *Sunday* issue of *The Independent*—but not because those others have so much larger circulation to support them. For example, the *Toronto Star*, with its nearly 1.3 million combined weekend circulation, is not at a disadvantage in that respect against *The Sunday Times* (1,251,721 for the July 5 issue) and the *Observer* (841,000 for the same date), both of which publish only on Sundays. And although the *Sunday* issue of *The New York Times* is perhaps even taller than *The Saturday Star*, its *Sunday* edition has always been positively accurate. But all these others are in markets where more people cost among whom to scrape up a sufficient following for a quality newspaper.

That, though, does not alter the fact that our weekend newspapers, jockey in both size and content, are vulnerable on two points. The first is that if they do not improve quality, first by coming to be simply run-down of the weekend pages, and develop a perspective that is deeper than from yesterday's input, readers will decide that what they are offered is not news, not news, and give them up. The second is that if they don't slim down, the environmental movement will get them. Consumers of mountains of newspaper, which is then left to public authority (i.e., the taxpayer) to dispose of, are not as a good position these days to be in. The environmental challenge on such popular topics as the rape of the forests, and the need to find less wasteful ways of living, it may be a case of slim down and time up or die.

# Shakeup at CTV

A new president makes his mark on a network

On a bustling day of Toronto-based CTV last March, executive vice president John Cassaday, 37, proclaimed his intention to make the troubled network "world-class." But, within weeks, the new president and chief executive officer drew expressions of dismay from some CTV insiders and industry analysts with his first concrete proposals. Addressing the Association of Canadian Advertisers on April 17, the former Campbell Soup Co. Ltd. senior executive told Canadians Martin Short said earlier Margaret Atwood in one consultation to fill in successfully for Norm Perry and Deborah McGrath, the co-anchors of CTV's morning news show, *Casade AM*. In an interview with *Maclean's*, Cassaday stated that the proposal was only half serious. "It was trying to get people used to thinking about what could be," he said. "People said to me, 'You must have been kidding about Martin Short, but Margaret Atwood—now that's not a bad idea.' But I knew that if I hadn't said Martin Short, I would never have been able to tell Margaret Atwood." Added Cassaday, "My point was simple: How do we get rid of us? We become more entertaining? How do we start getting viewers back on the habit of watching CTV?"

Cassaday's questions reflect the hard times at Canada's only private, fully national network. Last month, CTV reported that its ratings in the 1985-1990 season had dropped 14 percent from a year earlier. And in the 12 months that ended last Aug. 31, profits were about \$2.4 million—roughly one-quarter of the \$7.4 million that the network earned in 1987-1988. That meant that CTV, which distributed an estimated \$22 million to the affiliates in 1987-1988, handed out just \$5 million in the following year.

At the same time, CTV is facing challenges from pay TV and cable-delivered rivals like remote stations. And at the legislative level, the aggressive Global Television outlet drew better prime-time ratings than CTV's Toronto affiliate, CTVO, for the first time ever.

But Cassaday is also pressing over a network that is threatening to lose itself again. CTV's two largest affiliate owners, CTV-Ontario (Banc Broadcasting Inc. of Toronto and WRC Western International Communications Ltd. of Vancouver, have both undergone expansions that could test the network's working arrangement among the affiliate owners. Last week, WRC, operator of two affiliates that generate about 16 per cent of CTV revenues, bought Edmonton-based broadcasting giant Allarcom



Cassaday: "We're getting the juices flowing again."

Ltd. for \$157 million. That purchase—which still needs approval from the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC)—prompted several industry observers to question whether WRC's president, Douglas Holby, might be preparing to abandon CTV and forge his own mini-network. Holby made no comment.

Only one week earlier, Baton president Douglas Bassett had sought CTV permission to purchase small television stations in central Ontario. If the transaction is approved, Baton's contribution to CTV revenues would

exceed 20 per cent, up from the current 10 per cent. And Bassett says himself that the acquisition by his company and WRC will only require permission to restructure the decade-long process on the CTV board, which allows one vote for each of the affiliate owners, regardless of how many stations they own in how much revenue they generate. At the top end is Baton, which owns Toronto's CTV and Ontario's CTV, as well as CTV in Saskatoon and CTV in Regina. The smallest is St. John's-based Newfoundland Broadcasting Ltd., which owns only one station, CTV, responsible for just under two per cent of the network's revenues. St. Bassett: "How can we as CTV remain equal partners when some of us are getting so big?"

Cassaday plans down the network's stations that have played the 20-year-old network in recent years. Although he cautions that there is work to be done to reduce conflict in the boardroom, he says that his first mandate is to bring more viewers—and, in the process, more advertisers—to the network. To that end, Cassaday has focused on recent months on developing a full program of what he calls "proven winners," while at the same time working to convince advertisers that CTV is an effective vehicle. And beginning this week, the network will launch a new promotional campaign, developed by new Advertising Ltd. of Toronto, targeting "the one people" "Tuned into you," using by Toronto's June Award-winning Liberty Silver.

Although the CTV job is Cassaday's first in broadcasting, the Hamilton native and University of Toronto MBA is no stranger to the world of corporate merchandising. He became marketing manager for Toronto-based school-equipment KJ McDonald Inc. in the mid-1970s. In 1977, he joined General Foods Inc. and moved quickly up the corporate ladder. By 1984, he had become an international marketing director.

But Cassaday is probably best known within corporate circles for his role in helping to reverse the sagging fortunes of London-based Campbell Foods PLC. As the senior vice-president of marketing and sales for the company's Canadian operation, Toronto-based Campbell Soup Co. Ltd., in the mid-1980s, Cassaday was instrumental in launching such successful products as Swanson Gourmet Dinners, which the company went on to market internationally,

During his last four years at Campbell's Canadian branch, profits doubled to \$55.1 million, as Cassaday said several industry observers attributed largely to Cassaday's vision.

A year ago, Cassaday became president and chief executive officer of its British operations. But when the CTV board offered him a challenge to

lead the network. The network provides the affiliates with about 18 hours of programming each week. Of those, half are considered "status quo items," and the advertising revenue that they generate goes straight to the affiliates. Revenues for the other half—known as "network sales items"—go to CTV itself. But, after



Robertson, Walker, relying on proven stars and recruiting new, high-profile journalists

the network last winter, he says, he jumped at the opportunity. Interviewed in his downtown Toronto office, Cassaday was poised and affable as he explained his move to broadcasting. "I love watching TV," he said, "and I believed in TV as a powerful vehicle when I was an advertiser. A number of observers see Cassaday's stewardship as a positive development. Since

CTV pays its programming, operating and administrative costs, it has a portion of the balance back to the affiliates, who take it as payment for carrying the network hours.

Until 1984, CTV remained cash-starved, because the affiliates were guaranteed only 75 per cent of those network revenues. As a

result, while the affiliates routinely enjoyed healthy growth, CTV itself often had to live in poverty in the face of CTV's demands for more original Canadian programming by the network itself. In response to the CTV's growing impatience, in 1986 the CTV board adopted a more flexible accounting formula that allowed for profit-sharing agreements with the affiliates, depending on CTV's financial needs. And in 1988, a new affiliation agreement renewed the cost-and-revenue-sharing formula between the affiliates themselves, requiring the larger players to pay more of the network's expenses.

Still, Cassaday shows the possibility that the new money by the network's two largest affiliates will brighten tomorrow in the boardroom. WRC's purchase of Allarcom's CTV in Edmonton and CTV in Red Deer, Alta., when added to its ownership of CTV in Calgary, gives the broadcaster these independent stations, in addition to its two CTV affiliates in Toronto (CMTV Ontario and CMTV, B.C.) Despite industry speculation that WRC might leave CTV, Toronto investment analyst Derrick Leach, for one, expressed skepticism. Said Leach, who works with the Toronto firm Dundas & Leach in Zurich, World Ltd.: "I doubt that they will want to become their own network. Besides, with the current state of broadcasting, there probably is not room for a third network in Canada."

Bassett, meanwhile, continues to lobby for greater credit for Baton. Last week, just days after CTV's earnings into his company's purchase of nine Ontario stations, Bassett told *Maclean's* that he believes the network should be controlled by one person who would provide "the leadership" (David Robertson). "It was fine to say, 'We will all be equal partners' when the affiliates got together in 1964. But, in the past 26 years, the less desirable, more expensive, has changed a lot. We are now looking at some pretty big economic issues."

One of Cassaday's responsibilities is to run board meetings, and he said that it is a challenge to keep conflict at bay. "You don't expect to drive in and solve problems," he said. "You're always moving around until you get closer and closer. You're never going to fix it there, but you fix it enough around the edges to come up with a viable solution."

Several board members agreed that the network is moving more smoothly under Cassaday. Said Randall Moffat, president of Winnipeg-based Moffat Communications Ltd., which owns CTV affiliate CTV in Winnipeg: "He has made a very positive contribution, and the conflicts are moving much smoother than they were before."

Cassaday may have reduced fractiousness within CTV, but he still faces

Sara Rotofort, Mark Humphrey in K-N-G Canadian successes





a growing threat from the network's chief competitor rival, Global Television. Last December, Winnipeg-based Irsat II Corp. Asper bought out his two partners in Global Communications Ltd., which operates the lucrative Ontario-based Global Television system. Asper's Winnipeg-based company, Clearview Communications Enterprises Inc., paid \$131 million to Paul Morin and Seymour Hapton, winning the remaining 39-per-cent control of Global that it did not yet own. Asper, 57, has stated that he intends to form what he calls a national over-the-air broadcasting "arena" with Global and the four other independent TV stations he controls in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Regina and Vancouver.

Asper is still winning the test of approval from the CRTC for that transaction. But at CRTC hearings last June, CTV filed an application opposing that Asper will get a "de facto network," without the traditional obligations, CRTC conditions of license generally require networks to undertake certain responsibilities—services to remote areas, comprehensive news coverage, a specific amount of original Canadian dramatic productions—from which local independent stations are exempt. Said CTV: "It's a network. Let them play by network rules. Let them make the same commitment to Canadian content, to international news coverage that we do. Let them get their signal into Split Lip, Man., like we have."

Programming has been a major preoccupation for Asper since he arrived at CTV. Shortly after joining the network, he made some dramatic—and controversial—changes in CTV's news and current affairs division. Last April, he axed the venerable Sunday-evening current affairs program, *NS*, from the 7 p.m. slot that it had held for four years to 7 p.m.—the same spot as the popular *U.S. News* program 60 Minutes. That change killed *NS* and to air the hit *U.S. News*, a *News* 3 *Present News* video at 8. At the time, some insiders predicted that CTV would be crying foul to increase the network's station in time for the spring ratings tally—but that *NS* would lose out. Six months later, CTV's *News* 3 *Present News* ratings have since increased by 25 per cent. Said CTV's president with evident pride: "That's the kind of program I want to make here. We're getting the news better news."

More recently, CTV's and its staff have been assembling CTV's lineup. The network bought seven hours of one U.S. syndicated programming last season and made 47 changes to its evening schedule. The result, said CTV, was "a blend from too much new product." For the new season beginning in September, CTV is concentrating on proven winners. The network is also making more American imports as *Providence* and *China Beach*, while securing other established U.S. hits, including the new space *Knight Landing*.

The CTV president stressed that he also wants to build new major and mid-range network's popular Canadian offerings, including *Bend Sinister*, an action-adventure show set

on the U.S. Canadian border, and *RNG*, a dramatic series focusing on the new development of a TV station. His strategy to schedule them between bigger-drawing U.S. shows. The media-in-Calgary also has a new, one-hour drama series, *New Order* CTV collaborated with Toronto's Atlantic Films in creating the show, aimed at teenagers and set on a ranch for troubled adolescents.

Cassidy, who with his wife, Mary, has three children ranging in age from 2 to 8, also said that he has long been concerned about programming for young people. And this fall, he is introducing what he calls a "mother-daughter" Saturday-morning lineup, including the sort of shows that concerned mothers would choose for their kids. The network will

potential replacements. Among the rumored candidates, Don Macdonald, who for three years has been Canada's top sportsman and J. D. Roberts, a former soccer star at Toronto's CTV, who once last year was featured at *60* in Miami.

With those changes in place, Cassidy is determined to draw more advertisers to the network. In order to pursue them more aggressively, in May he created the position of senior vice-president of marketing, filling it with Campbell's former manager of the top division, Paul Robinson. And last month, Cassidy installed a special telephone line to Toronto office and encouraged advertisers to call him directly. Archibald McLean, advertising manager of Flinnco, a N. B.-based McDonald Ltd., was one of the first. Said McLean: "I think



Asper Global's growing threat could be heightened competition for viewers.

represents traditional local U.S. cartoons with strictly Canadian productions, including CTV, the environment-nature series based on the successful children's magazine, the power drama series *The Campbell* and a new science show called *Wonder Why*.

In an effort to revitalize the network's news and sports division, CTV has also hired several prominent personalities. In June, Ralph Malby, former executive producer of CTV's *Monday Night* in Canada, joined a five-year deal with the network. Malby, whose projects will include CTV's coverage of the 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona, said the opportunity to work with CTV as a primary reason for his decision to join the network.

The new personnel is also recruiting high-profile on-camera personalities to join such established CTV stars as newscaster Lloyd Robertson and *Providence* writer. Beginning this fall, veteran CTV news anchor Neil Malby, who for 14 years co-hosted the Canadian afternoons on the 4th channel, will co-host CTV's *News* 3 *Present News* with his wife, Catherine. This fall, Perry, only a 15-year star as a soccer star, and Cassidy has been narrowing the list of

his ideas are a good step forward to his station."

Another challenge facing Cassidy is the national test of CTV's license with the CRTC. In 1987, then-CRTC chairman André Bouchard ordered the network to spend at least \$403 million on Canadian programming by 1991—a 75-per-cent increase over the five-year period that ended in 1986. But the new president says that he is confident about holding CTV's requirements. Indeed, he has sent a videotape to the current CRTC chairman, Keith Spicer, in which he personally explains CTV's choice of programs for the coming season.

That communication to the federal broadcasting regulator reflects Cassidy's confidence about improving CTV's diversity. "My biggest challenge right now," he said, "is to harness the conflicts from within, and the challenges from without, into a competitive advantage for the network." The corporate watershed, who set a fairer, Campbell's Soup has a bright new picture in mind for CTV.

VICTOR DRYER

## BOOKS

# Citizen Wenner

Rolling Stone's founder gets harsh treatment

ROLLING STONE MAGAZINE  
THE UNDISCOVERED HISTORY  
By Robert Draper

(Doubleday, 299 pages, \$24.95)

By the time the last guitar chord faded away at 1969's *Woodstock* rock festival, new lines in the audience were talking about peace, love and good vibrations. The mood of that event, held over San Francisco

The author depicts Rolling Stone's founder as an egomaniac social climber and slouchy rock star. While Wenner had visions of becoming the generation's equivalent of publishing magnate William Randolph Hearst, Draper contends that he has more in common with Playboy founder Hugh Hefner. Said one former Rolling Stone employee: "Hugh Hefner wanted to be a playboy, Jan [Wenner] wanted to be with rock stars." The author writes that Wenner's star-



Wenner with Bianca Jagger: climbing the social ladder

working-up someone like him to showcase his friends, ordering positive reviews of their records or putting them on the cover even though their careers were on the wane.

For more serious conflicts arise when Wenner moved the magazine's offices from San Francisco to New York City in 1977. Many original staff members—Draper calls them "academics, misanthropes, recluse dealers, social lepers and paranoiacal lunatics who loved music and feared the morning sunlight"—are the same as a select of *Rolling Stone*'s values. Then, as Wenner pushed for an older, more affluent readership, many staffers complained that the magazine's editorial content was frequently compromised. Meanwhile, Wenner was

up New York's social ladder, where he became friends with Jackie Onassis and Draper writes, developed as expensive cocaine habit.

By 1981, *Rolling Stone* found new weight with advertising and lighter on the level of investigative journalism that earned it acclaim in the 1970s. Wenner's magazine no longer featured Hunter S. Thompson, whose savagely gonzo journalism, a free-wheeling mix of drug-induced treachery and stark political insight, brought the magazine its greatest notoriety in the early 1970s. Thompson, who has been writing for the San Francisco *Kroner* since 1983, said Draper that the new, more conservative *Rolling Stone* was simply no longer him.

Draper's description of *Rolling Stone*'s first decade is lively and often hilarious. But when he tries to make sense of the magazine in the 1980s, his prose becomes as starchy as Wenner's cooling editorial vision. Nor, writes Draper, Wenner is contemplating new publishing ventures. At 64, he and his wife of 22 years, Jane, have outright ownership of Straight Arrow Publishers Inc., the parent company of both *Rolling Stone* and *CR* magazine. Last year, the firm was worth more than \$250 million.

In some respects, Wenner is already comparable to Hearst, whose life was the basis for the classic movie *Citizen Kane*. In fact, *Rolling Stone* staffers nicknamed their boss Citizen Wenner. And like Kane, Wenner has clearly abandoned any former ambitions as he has risen from boy wonder to publishing titan.

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

## Maclean's

BEST-SELLING LIST

- 1 *The Boy in the Dress*, Tame (1)
- 2 *Stand of My Youth*, Brown (1)
- 3 *September*, Fidler (3)
- 4 *Message from Home*, Scott (4)
- 5 *Forever Regained*, McMorris (4)
- 6 *Guilty Heels*, Williams (4)
- 7 *An Inconvenient Woman*, Dwyer (3)
- 8 *The Innocent*, McLean (3)
- 9 *Shirley Lay and All*, Sullivan (7)
- 10 *Widow*, Fidler (7)

## NONFICTION

- 1 *Man at Work*, Hill (5)
- 2 *Magnum's 2000*, ...
- 3 *Rebel and Rebel* (2)
- 4 *Herbert Ben & Co.*, Wilson (5)
- 5 *Twelve in a Jail Sentence*, edited by ...
- 6 *The Twelve*, with ...
- 7 *Devolving the Peace*, Reid (4)
- 8 *The Emperor's New Mind*, Penrose
- 9 *Homecoming*, ...
- 10 *Forbes of the ...*

11 *Protein* last week

Compiled by Brian Bellish



## The anthill and the mortuary

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

**T**he Europeans have their own definition of heaven and hell. Heaven, they say, is populated by French chefs, German mechanics, English policemen and Italian lovers—all agonized by the Swiss flag, on the other hand, is filled with English chefs, French mechanics, German policemen and Swiss lovers—all agonized by the Italians.

This fits in, of course, with the standard view of Italians as acerbically disgruntled, with a short attention span. The general robe and careless attention upon any Italian gathering, from family sit-ups, encourages the same view. A scumbler moving on from Italy to Britain feels he has stumbled upon a tightly packed mortuary. Businessmen sit in corners of discreet hotel lounges muttering to each other in low whispers, fearful that their deadly secrets might be overheard by a stranger or a bartender.

The scumbler, after several days, tends to check his ear wax, suspicious that something has gone wrong with his hearing. Then simply not the volume of noise he has become accustomed to. The lack of cryptic snare on the tin in one thing, going deaf is something more serious.

It is all so deceptive, the change in culture. Italy seems one constant madhouse but a foreign diplomat, a shop owner, a journalist in that he has survived both the Clark and the Mulcaire ruggens, makes it all understandable. He lives it all as an anthill.

We have all been persuaded, on running upon an anthill somewhere in our existence. A half-gallon squawking little beetle, all seemingly quarrelling in their colonies, but on examination there are never any collisions and they all know, in fact, where they are going. This, explains the shrewd observer, is the way to Italian society.

A frustrated observer, among in an Italian bank, may grow irritated at finding no discernible system of order around a teller's cage. It seems a bewailing mob of applicants. The frustrated observer, raised on a sense of first-come first-served rationality in the next Anglo-



Saxon mind, finds this all rather bizarre.

Diplomat explains. Visitor may be confused.

Italians are not. They know their visitors. who should be served next, who should be. But never, he warns, delay two seconds in asserting your position. Or you are dead meat. Trust Don. Sky and deft-footed contenders—the description of your agent exactly—are trampled in the well-orchestrated stampede.

It is hard for a northern stranger to grasp and drive off to target immediately the nuances of the no-man's-land. Just as it is, casually standing near the counter of a M&M-and-Pop shop in London, to realize too late that the three (sometimes two) English have automatically formed a queue—a uniquely British version.

The Italians have a gift for creating confusion all around them while secretly getting on with the job. There were all the dice probabilities that this seemingly disgruntled raton would never be able to bring off the World Cup

meddling extravaganza. When all the noise had cleared, 52 matches were carried out—without death, destruction or chaos—in 12 states all with superb, clean and beautiful stadiums with seats for each customer: a situation that put to shame the European show conditions that have turned British soccer seats into such animals because they reflect the atmosphere in which they are forced to watch their sport.

Italians, beneath the noise, are orderly in that you can stroll the country for a month and never find a drunk, let alone a toper. It is why they are so pleasantly puzzled by the Brits, those lovers of the orderly queue, who can stand around louts whose idea of fun is to drink beer all day under the sun where only mad dogs and Nazi Germany's targets go and then smash up bars and overturn lams and lob brickbat police. One country has a definition of civility; another has another.

The Italians, beneath the noise, have a sense of proportion. They change governments, as we know, more often than they change the bank rate. But it is especially, in shifting coalition elections, the sense people. The other day, this week's prime minister, Mr. Andreotti, flew into Washington for talks and was asked by an eager young reporter how he thought he might make out with the new Bush administration. The world-weary Mr. Andreotti, patiently, explained to the neophyte that this happened to be his 62nd visit to Washington over the years. And, undoubtedly, he will be back.

It is why, while Italian governments change, Italian politics never changes.

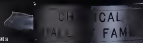
The most powerful parties are two small fringe parties—the one on the far communist left, the other on the strongly conservative right—that orchestrate the makeup of most month's parliament coalition governments by the way in which they swing their crucial swing votes. Mr. Andreotti will tell his country on his visits to the Palazzo, let us it.

Italy—chaotic, cacophonous, disorganized Italy—is now the fifth industrial power in the world. There must be a method to their madness. The common sense behind the Italian madness is that the populace takes no sense of government, or authority, or regulations, but gets on with life and exists on a grey market and no one pays any income tax, all the way up to Sophia Loren.

It seems to work. The government changes every 18 days but nobody gets drunk. In Britain, the government seldom ever changes and the orderings are so complex they travel thousands of miles around to smash up other people. There would seem to be a moral to all this.

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